The German Tribune

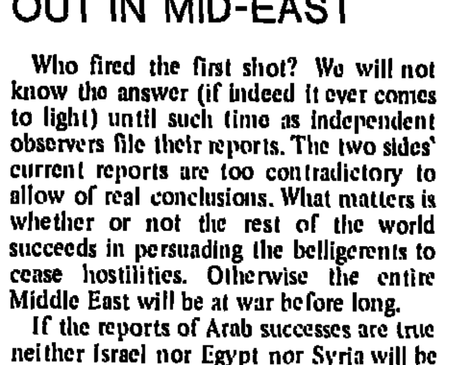
A WEEKLY REVIEW OF THE GERMAN PRESS

Hamburg, 18 October 1973
Twelfth Year - No. 601 - By air

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Palestinian problem must be solved now

CONFLICT BREAKS OUT IN MID-EAST



Frankfurter Rundschau

Interrupted by countless incidents, rendered dubious by Palestinian terrorists and Isreali commandos, called into question by the firebrand speeches of Arab statesmen and made permanent by Israeli settlement of territories occupied in 1967, the fragile Middle East armistice has ceased to exist. At the moment of writing it is impossible to forecast whether a new and major war has begun in the Middle East.

The world may not have forgotten the glowing cinders of the conflict between the Jewish state and the Arabs but many politicians seem to have been misled by six years of crease-fire into harbouring the illusion that the problem will solve itself one of these days if only nothing is done for long enough and the people concerned are left to stew in their own juice. The illusion has now been dispelled with a vengeance.

Once again the world has been reminded that it is perched on a powder keg with the fuse smouldering. There is little point in trying to decide who fired the first shot this time. A week beforehand the first alarming reports of troop build-ups by Israel and Syria along their common frontier went the rounds.

In Arab capitals there were fears of an Israeli strike in retaliation against the Palestinian move against Jewish refugees from the Soviet Union in Austria resulting in the closure of the Austrian transit camp at Schönau, near Vienna.

On the other hand the Israeli forces in the Golan Heights and along the Suez Canal would seem to have been taken as much by surprise as were civilians in the country's capital city, where air-raid warnings interrupted the peace and quiet of the Sabbath and sent them scurrying into the shelters for the first time in six years.

Angry queries are already been posed in Jerusalem as to whether the authorities and the secret service were caught napping this time.

Who fired the first shot? We will not know the answer (if indeed it ever comes to light) until such time as independent observers file their reports. The two sides' current reports are too contradictory to allow of real conclusions. What matters is whether or not the rest of the world succeeds in persuading the belligerents to cease hostilities. Otherwise the entire Middle East will be at war before long.

If the reports of Arab successes are true neither Israel nor Egypt nor Syria will be interested in a cease-fire, the Israelis being determined to demonstrate to the world at large and the Arabs in particular that they retain military superiority and the Arabs hoping that at long last they will not prove hopelessly weaker than the Israelis.

The prospects of an end to fighting, then, are none too good. The course of events over the next few days will show whether Cairo and Damascus are convinced of their ability to risk a trial of strength.

Yet even if an armistice agreement were to be signed, none of the problems that have made the Middle East a continually ticking time bomb would be solved, the two overwhelming obstacles to peace being the problem of the homeless Palestinians and the Arabs' hurt pride at continually sustaining defeats and being so unable to help themselves.

Israel's growing reluctance to return the territories occupied in 1967 in return for Arab recognition of the Jewish state is likewise an obstacle.

There can be little doubt that Israel's policy in recent years has been based on a feeling of such military superiority over the other side that Jerusalem was intent on itself deciding the form possible negotiations were to take and the extent to which they were to go.

The Arab governments have not played ball, and even if they and Israel had reached agreement on negotiations there would still be the Palestinians, who are operating increasingly independently and ever more intent on destroying the Jewish state.

The Palestinians (and for long enough the Arab governments too) have invariably counted on massive Soviet support, much as Israel has relied on continuing aid from the United States.

In Cairo and Damascus, not to mention other Arab capitals, growing doubts have for some time arisen as to the disinterested nature of Soviet support. There was an uneasy and not entirely unjustifiable feeling that continuation of the current situation midway between war and peace was probably most in accord with Soviet interests and intentions.

Israel, on the other hand, has thus far shunned serious consideration of the prospect of a change in relations with its major ally. Over the past year it may have grown obvious enough that the United States is heading towards an energy crisis that will no longer allow it to enter into major conflict with the Arab oil-exporting countries, yet Mrs Meir's government seems unwilling to acknowledge that the resulting political consequences for Israel could prove unforeseeable.

At all events there are growing indications that Washington is at least as strongly interested in detente with the Soviet Union and unhindered petroleum supplies as it is in good relations with Israel.

This being the case, there is little point in concluding a new armistis agreement in the Middle East without at the same time making a genuine attempt to reach fundamental solutions – an attempt that must be made by both sides.

Israel will not, of course, want to hear anything of the necessity, and it will be up to the Arab governments to convince the Palestinian leaders that their hopes of total destruction of the Jewish state will never be fulfilled, the conclusion being that there will have to be a negotiated solution, albeit one that takes Palestinian interests into account. *Werner Holzer*

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 8 September 1973)



Japanese Premier calls on President Heinemann

Japanese Premier Kakuei Tanaka with President Gustav Heinemann during his visit to Bonn on 5 October. The Japanese Premier visited Bonn for discussions with Chancellor Brandt. (Photo: dpa)

IN THIS ISSUE

The GERMAN TRIBUNE Political Affairs Review is included with this issue

Chancellor Brandt visits British Premier Edward Heath at Chequers

Over cocktails British Premier Edward Heath and Bonn Chancellor Willy Brandt discussed the alarming developments in the Middle East. In the further course of their weekend tête-à-tête at Chequers, the Prime Minister's country house, the two men went on, however, to deal with relations between the Common Market countries and with the United States.

It was Herr Brandt's first visit to Britain for a year and a half. His visit was not motivated by serious problems or trouble between Whitehall and Bonn. It was occasioned more by the European Community and its ties with the United States and by the new political fashion among European heads of government, the trend towards top-level talks and confidential consultations.

The visit was worthwhile for Europe's sake alone. Starting next year the European Community is to be transformed from a customs union to an economic and monetary union. From next January the Nine are gradually to pursue common economic, financial, monetary and regional policies.

What Mr Heath needed was more money first and foremost, Bonn as the "paymaster of Europe" being expected to foot the bill. Financial support must be forthcoming from the European monestary fund for sterling and from the regional development fund for the appropriate parts of Britain.

Between them it is hoped to reap sufficient benefit from these two funds to offset payments to Brussels in general and the common agricultural fund in particular, this being necessary if rapidly declining British enthusiasm for the Common Market is to be given a shot in the arm.

Mr Heath and the Tories must be able to sell something good about the Common Market to the electorate over the next eighteen months unless they want to run the risk of being unseated by Labour over Europe. Labour certainly plans to use the EEC as a stick with which to beat the Conservatives and regain power. *Hans-Heinz Schlenker*

(Kieler Nachrichten, 8 September 1973)

■ FOREIGN AFFAIRS

European deterrent proposals prove to be doubtful starters

The debate about a possible European deterent, hitherto conducted by individual politicians in various Nato countries, has taken on a new look now that the Group of Nine have made official advances in Brussels.

This body, including Walter Hallstein of this country, has proposed the development of a European nuclear force on the basis of the British and French potential that would be capable, to use Senator Jacob Javit's phrase, of cutting the nuclear umbilical cord to the United States.

In view of growing domestic pressure aimed at a reduction of US troop strength in Europe – pressure that sooner or later is bound to have results – the US government is redoubling its efforts to persuade the European Nato group to shoulder more of the defence burden.

The Nato countries are well aware of the difficult position the US government is in, and initial conclusions have already been drawn. This, then, is the background against which the latest proposal for a European deterrent to relieve the military burden on the United States must be seen.

Grave misgivings must nonetheless be harboured about the whole idea, starting in the political sphere. Is there any point in debating a European detente before even the prospect of political integration looms on the horizon? It is doubtful, to say the least, whether political union will be implemented by 1980 as agreed at the Common Market conference table.

Political integration is inestimably more important than a European deterrent. What military point is there in a European deterrent for that matter? Nato's flexible response strategy remains based on the assumption that nuclear weapons will only be used as a last resort, conventional fighting having failed to have provided the breathingspace needed to nip the conflagration in the bud.

As a result great store is set by conventional forces, particularly ground forces in Europe. At present it may be assumed that Nato troops would assuredly be capable of withstanding a conventional attack for a certain period of time.

It all costs money, though, and would prove even more expensive if the Americans really were to withdraw some of their troops from Europe and the Europeans were to have to bridge the gap themselves.

The development of an independent European deterrent would cost a fortune that will hardly be forthcoming in addition to conventional military expenditure. As a result conventional troop strength could hardly be maintained. What is more, France's *force de frappe* is already a controversial military quantity because, in technological terms, it lags far behind the United States and the Soviet Union. This, then is none too sound a basis for a European deterrent and Britain's contribution is hardly likely to offset this handicap.

Assuming that a European deterrent were to be developed, possible military consequenses must not be overlooked either. The nuclear threshold would be lowered and the risk of nuclear warfare heightened because weaker conventional armed forces would be able to resist attack for an even shorter period of time.

Last but not least, this country would have to reconcile its existing refusal to consider any such idea – a refusal in various declarations – with the target of a finger on the nuclear trigger, without

Frankfurter Rundschau

which a European deterrent is inconceivable.

Besides, is it really advisable to let the United States off the hook, or partially so, of its commitment to defend Europe? When all is said and done the Americans are stationed on this side of the Atlantic in their own interest.

For all these reasons a European deterrent is not the right way of redistributing defence burdens among Nato countries. In view of East-West strategic arms limitation talks that may one day extend to a scaling-down in size of the nuclear arsenals the very idea is bound to sound a somewhat grotesque note.

Ulrich Mackensen

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 4 October 1973)

Greek Junta's promises ring hollow

Little faith has been placed in Mr Papdopoulos' pledges to restore democracy in Greece, justifiably so quite apart from the way in which military juntas invariably prove reluctant to relinquish power and the relative satisfaction shown by many Greeks with the combination of a moderate dictatorship and an economic upsurge.

Yet the military leaders now really are to take their leave, with one exception: President Papdopoulos himself, who is to retain full power until elections are held and to whom the civilian government remains responsible.

But elections are to be held next year and the next yardstick by which progress towards democracy will be assessed is the vetting of political parties by the constitutional court.

By and large it can be said that two groups will not be too enthusiastic about the course of events: the erstwhile political leaders on the one hand who used to keep the reins of democracy firmly in the hands of a few families and the armed forces on the other who are doubtless worried less the time be not yet ripe and President Papadopulos too hasty.

Between them these two have in the past been the main factors in Greek politics. Where are the political parties that are to replace them? It is hard to forecast what will happen when Greek politics is allowed to re-enter the arena. It could certainly do with renaissance.

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 2 October 1973)

Detente doubters gain ground in Washington and in Moscow

Gains have been registered in both Washington and Moscow by those who view the detente policies of their respective governments with growing misgivings, yet the leaders of the two superpowers are evidently determined not to abandon their efforts.

President Nixon reiterated his commitment to detente in a two-hour talk with Soviet Foreign Minister Gromyko in the White House. Finance Secretary Shultz echoed these sentiments in a similar tête-à-tête with General Secretary Brezhnev in the Kremlin.

In Washington administration spokesman are continually assuring Soviet diplomats that the President will do everything in his power to ensure more favourable trading conditions for the Soviet Union.

In Moscow Mr Gromyko's son Anatoli has published a surprisingly favourable report on US policy in the seventies. He recommends the Kremlin leaders to forge ahead with its improvement of relations with the United States.

In Washington, on the other hand, little of the euphoria of recent months in this context remains. The Jewish lobby and extensive reports on the campaign against dissidents in the Soviet Union have not been without effect.

What is more, Americans have come to realise that the Soviet Union has pulled a fast one over on Uncle Sam with its cut-price purchases of enormous amounts of foodgrains last year. Reports of acclereated arms development in the Soviet Union complete the picture.

This, then is the background against which a Congressional defeat and a Congressional victory for the President must be seen.

President Nixon's attempt to secure most-favoured nation status for the Soviet Union in trade ties come to grief in the Housa steering committee. Most-favoured nation status and the prospect of substantial credit facilities are to be made subject to Mr Brezhnev allowing even more Jews to emigrate and showing greater concern for human rights in the Soviet Union.

On the other side of the coin Mr Nixon has notched up an almost total victory on arms expenditure. At a time when higher spending on domestic programmes was expected the Senate approved a 20.9-billion-dollar arms development package.

The House of Representatives plans to slice 500 million dollars off this total, but a mediation committee will doubtless reach a compromise. The original estimates were axed by only one billion dollars that were in any case in excess of requirements.

The President ran up against one difficulty only in the military sector. The Senate agreed to a compromise on troop strength, requesting a reduction of 156,000 men in the 2,230,000-strong manpower the Defence Department planned to have on its payroll in the next year.

Furthermore, the Senate has insisted on the withdrawal of 110,000 troops stationed abroad by the end of 1975. The House is generally expected to reverse this ruling, but whether it will feel able to do so in future is another matter, the majority viewpoint in the Senate being more in line with the current of US public opinion.

This year US troops are being prepared to be pulled out of Europe in accordance with the extent to which the host countries fail to meet their offset payment obligations.

President Nixon has thus been provided with a powerful means of bringing pressure to bear on his European allies, including this country, in the offset payment talks that are due to start in the weeks to come.

Emil Bölte

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, 4 October 1973)

Austrian Chancellor Kreisky outmanoeuvres Golda Meir

Austrian Chancellor and Socialist leader Bruno Kreisky is renowned for never irrevocably committing himself and invariably finding a stylish solution to a problem, no matter how difficult it may be. His handling of the Schönau affair has not been entirely lacking in this proverbial dexterity.

Prime Minister Golda Meir of Israel was at the receiving end. En route from Strasbourg to Jerusalem Mrs Meir called on the Chancellor in Vienna in an attempt to persuade him to go back on his decision to close the transit camp for Soviet Jews at Schloss Schönau, near Vienna, for security reasons.

This he refused to do, although he had, as it were, reserved the right. Instead he played the ball back into Israel's court, suggesting that Mrs Meir "consider whether the camp might not be transferred to the authority of the UN High Commissioner for refugees."

According to the Chancellor Mrs Meir was unenthusiastic about this prospect. She is probably far from convinced that the idea will meet with UN approval. For Austria, on the other hand, it would represent an elegant solution to the problem.

Dr Kreisky demonstrated that he was not proposing to limit tranist facilities to individuals but would be repared to continue accepting groups provided that others accept the responsibility.

Under the aegis of the UN High Commissioner Austria would remain responsible for protecting Schönau from Arab attacks, but were anything untoward to happen the blame could not be laid solely at Vienna's door.

Mrs. Meir left Vienna most unsatisfied. Small wonder. She has crossed swords with someone who proved more than a match for her political temperament.

(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 3 October 1973)

The German Tribune

Publisher: Friedrich Reinecke. Editor-in-Chief: Otto Heinz. Editor: Alexander Anthony. English language sub-editor: Geoffrey Penny. Distribution Manager: Georgine von Platen. Advertising Manager: Peter Boeckmann.

Friedrich Reinecke Verlag GmbH, 23 Schoene Aussicht, Hamburg 76. Tel.: 2 20 12 51. Telex: 02 14733. Bonn bureau: Konrad Kadlubowski, 53 Adenauerallee, 53 Bonn. Tel.: 22 61 53. Telex 08 86398.

Advertising rates list No. 10 – Annual subscription DM 25.

Printed by Krögers Buch- und Verlagsdruckerei, Hamburg-Blankenese. Distributed in the USA by: MASS MAILINGS, Inc. 540 West 24th Street, New York, N.Y. 10011.

All articles which THE GERMAN TRIBUNE reprint are published in cooperation with the editorial staffs of leading newspapers of the Federal Republic of Germany. They are complete translations of the original text, in no way abridged nor editorially redrafted. THE GERMAN TRIBUNE also publishes a quarterly Affairs Review and a Supplement, articles selected from German periodicals.

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■ POLITICS

Franz Joseph Strauss's CSU moves to meet today's political challenges

Four years after the formation of the SPD/FDP coalition government in Bonn the Christian Social Union has managed to come to terms with its allied party, the Christian Democratic Union, as regards the style of debating within party circles.

What the CDU succeeded in doing in Berlin in 1968 has now been matched by the CSU at its Munich party-political conference. The fact that the CSU took so long to achieve this lies in its adherence to the role of being the governing party in the state of Bavaria with no serious challengers.

It was only after the CDU/CSU had suffered the clear defeat at the general election last year that party members came to realise that the way out of the doldrums of opposition in Bonn was to redefine their position with regard to the social services and their aims on the domestic scene.

This would not have been brought about, however, without the sufferance of the party Chairman, Franz Josef Strauss. Once or twice last year Strauss was made aware that the so-called grass roots of the party were sharpening axes in preparation for dealing more toughly with the party boss.

This became particularly clear when Strauss issued threats that he split the CDU and CSU, and when he waxed philosophical about the poor prospects for the two-party system in the Federal Republic.

His repeated warnings about the risks involved in a policy of compromise did not prevent the process of "discussion without blinkers" getting under way, a process that every opposition party must go through if it is not to find the government galloping away and leaving it miles behind.

The most extreme symptom of this tendency is the fact that the Chairman of the Junge Union, Theo Waigel, has been entrusted with the chairmanship of a commission, whose declared aim is to bring the Opposition into line with "changed social circumstances".

The party conference chose as its slogan the ambitious "Humanity – yardstick for all". But what actually emerged from the CSU's efforts was less than spectacular. The change of style per se is far more noticeable than the results of deliberations on matters such as land laws or vocational training.



Karl Carstens of the CDU, Helmut Kohl and Franz Josef Strauss at the CSU party conference in Munich, emphasising CSU and CDU unity (Photo: dpa)

On the ticklish subject of worker participation in company policy-making the CSU assembly was skilfully handled by the leadership and this theme was passed on to a special committee for further discussion. But the committee has been admonished to remember that the equality and equal importance of capital and lababour must be maintained.

In certain circumstances "parity is tolerable", Franz Josef Strauss commented. Only a few years ago such a statement would have been regarded by the CSU as an attack on the free-market economic system.

The new style of confrontation in the CSU could mean in the long term that after an epoch of estrangement the two "union" parties will now come closer together again. This will not prevent Strauss' using the CSU's right of veto in the CDU/CSU parliamentary party, especially when it comes to foreign affairs.

The latest example of this is Strauss' reaction to the decision of CDU Chairman Helmut Kohl to entrust party treasurer Walter Leisler Kiep with foreign policy decisions on the party presidium.

Strauss retorted with strong polemics about the vote to be taken this autumn on signing the treaty banning proliferation of nuclear weapons. At the party assembly this move was regarded as showing the party line on foreign policy.

While the leaders of the CDU, Kohl, Biedenkopf, Kiep and Weizsäcker do not want to see this treaty fall through the CSU Chairman has decided to steer a collision course.

Carstens is a diplomat standing between the CDU's Kohl/Biedenkopf group, which is busying itself mainly with domestic policies, and the CSU leader Strauss, whose main concern is foreign policy. As leader of the Opposition Carstens is making a virtue of necessity and acting as a master of ceremonies for the conflicts in his parliamentary group – no matter whether these arise from ideas on worker participation or from Ostpolitik controversies.

In the CDU party Chairman Kohl is leaning heavily on Kurt Biedenkopf, a General Secretary who is not lacking in dynamism with regard to social welfare policies. But Franz Josef Strauss has no Biedenkopf to lean on. Where domestic policies are concerned he too is restricting his activities to the role of compere.

Professor Schelsky, an expert on sociology, who was summoned by the CSU as guest speaker, repeated in slightly different terminology what Biedenkopf had already presented to the CDU as a strategic concept.

Biedenkopf said that the experience of generations in the lack of liberty has lost the power to point the way for the future. Schelsky maintained that the "commanding needs" of the postwar epoch had ceased to exercise any further effect after they were fulfilled.

For the CSU, there will be no alternative but to draw the consequences from this situation while in Opposition, and to overcome the outmoded political and intellectual fronts of yesterday – and not with words alone.

Hans Schuster

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 1 October 1973)

Walter Leisler Kiep appointed foreign policy spokesman

The CDU presidium elected its treasurer Walter Leisler Kiep as the spokesman for the presidium on foreign policy on 1 October. At the same time, however, the responsibilities of this post were pruned.

Kiep will not be responsible for German Policy or Ostpolitik. These tasks will be taken over by the floor leader Professor Karl Carstens. The presidium's decision was unanimous and entails a practical concession by the party Chairman Helmut Kohl to the parliamentary party leader Carstens, as well as to Kiep's opponents in the CDU/CSU.

Originally when he presented his plans for the delegation of business in the party Helmut Kohl said that it would be misguided to give the floor leader further responsibilities, since his tasks already took up nearly all his time and left few free hours for special responsibilities.

The changes that have been made to Kohl's original plan for the delegation of duties become clear on a closer study of the final decision.

For Kiep the list is: Treasurer; special duties: development aid, European policies, foreign affairs.

For Carstens; Chairman of the parliamentary party; special responsibilities: coordination of the parliamentary group and the national party, coordination of foreign policies, Ostpolitik and German Policy.

Kai-Uwe von Hassel has been given special responsibility for security policy.

Thus the presidium's decision pays heed to the wishes of Kohl on the one hand and Strauss and Carstens on the other. Kohl's idea was that Kiep should be the representative of a liberal foreign policy and thus speak for a minority in the party. But Carstens and Strauss regarded Kiep's approval of the Basic Treaty between the Germanies and his tacit consent to the East Bloc treaties as failing to provide a sound basis for a foreign policy spokesman for the presidium.

Dieter von König

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, 2 October 1973)

Bonn's political cauldron continues to bubble

Is everything back to normal in Bonn now, following the debate in the Bundestag on admission to the United Nations and the incident of Herbert Wehner's going solo? Certainly not!

Conflicts continue to bubble, within parties, and within the coalition. About the only thing that has returned to normal in Bonn is the relationship between the government and Opposition, if one understands this to be the formation of hard fronts and differences as marked as chalk and cheese.

There is no certainty that the disruption will continue. From the FDP we have had some indications of imminent conciliation – significantly. The old idea of communal action has been revived.

But this is all tomorrow's history, even though the FDP is keen to prove and to show its independence. At any rate Walter Scheel's foreign policy concept is that of the SPD/FDP coalition, by his own confession. And despite Herbert Wehner there is no discrepancy to be recorded there.

Scheel has also said that this foreign policy is on the right lines. There is agreement with the United States, loyalty to the Alliance, caution in the reduction of troop strengths and a joint search for a new relationship between the USA and Europe.

The subject of Herbert Wehner is one that is hard to fit into this landscape of optimism. Nor can the case of Egon Bahr be fitted in, a subject raised by Opposition leader Karl Carstens.

But during the debates in the Bundestag on 3 October there were no further surprises. Wehner, who was attacked so vehemently by Carstens, must earn praise from his own party. No party, least of all one so concerned about solidarity as the SPD, would let a loyal member be catapulted out of its ranks.

And Wehner is and remains a loyal SPD man. When he returned from the Soviet Union he made it quite clear that he was returning to the discipline and policies of the government.

Since this topic had been thoroughly hammered out before the Bundestag debate got under way there was nothing for observers to observe on 3 October except the speakers in impressive poses.

First and foremost among them was Karl Carstens. He is becoming more well-known with each day, while Rainer Barzel is becoming just a fading memory to the public.

Wehner, on the other hand, is a top-flight politician and thus this spectacular visit to the USSR will not easily be forgotten both within and without the SPD.

At any rate it makes for very bad entertainment when politicians in the Bundestag constantly trot out catalogues of sins perpetrated by their opponents in days of yore, as if politics knew no absolution, as if politicians had elephantine memories, as if time could not heal wounds.

MPs should shake off this tendency towards reminiscence and nostalgia. Otherwise they will give rise to the suspicion that they are not men of the present and future.

Friedrich Herzog

(Frankfurter Neue Presse, 4 October 1973)

■ THE BERLIN QUESTION

Ernst Reuter–the great man of Berlin died twenty years ago

Ernst Reuter, who died twenty years ago on 29 September 1953, was the most important and influential politician in post-war Berlin. He put his stamp on the city between 1946 and 1953 and still lives on in the minds of many Berliners.

Ernst Reuter returned to Berlin after eleven years' exile in Turkey. His first political post in the city was as the councillor responsible for transport and industry. He was then appointed mayor and finally Governing Mayor.

He worked in the city against a background of daily clashes with both German and Russian Communists to preserve the freedom of the Western sectors. He entered battle with unparalleled dedication and commitment.

He could not have continued his opposition to the communist power bloc successfully if he had not had the population behind him and if the Western Allies had not backed him up during these early years of the East-West conflict.

Reuter's fight against Russian expansionism – which was obvious to the whole world when the blockade of Berlin began, if not sooner – was rooted in the bitter experiences gained while he himself was a member of the Communist Party.

Ernst Reuter frankly admitted the importance of this communist phase of his political career. At the beginning of 1947 he wrote that he was taken prisoner by the Russians in August 1916, learned the language and shortly afterwards came into contact with the revolutionary movement.

The Communist Party soon became aware of his natural political talent, obtained his release and subjected him to intensive training in Moscow. "As First Chairman of the Volga German Republic established in July 1919 I had close links with all leaders of the Russian Revolution," Reuter reported.

The leaders of the Russian Communist Party ordered Reuter to move to Berlin after the November Revolution had broken out. He rose to the position of General Secretary of the German Communist Party.

But when the extreme elements intent on violence, terror and revolution gained the upper hand within the party, Reuter turned his back on the party, joined the Independent Social Democrats before finally joining the SPD for the second time. He had previously been a member in the autumn of 1912.

Reuter was well acquainted with communist ideology, theory and strategy and paid a good deal of attention to developments in the communist world during the eleven years he spent in Turkey to escape Nazi rule.

On returning to the bombed and devastated Berlin he was well equipped to enter uncompromising battle with the powers of darkness, as he dubbed the communists.

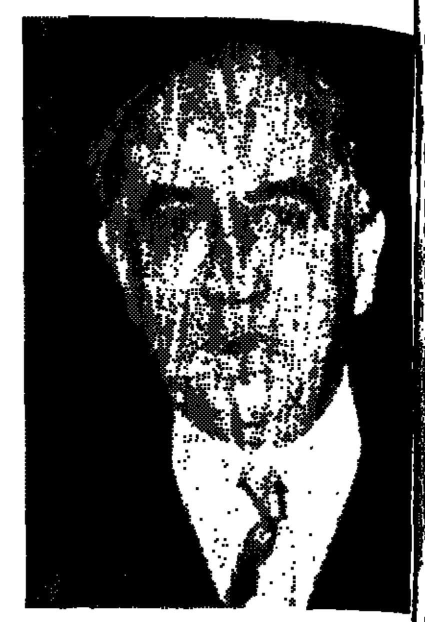
The conflict between the Communists and the democratic forces in post-war Berlin increased daily. Only once was the whole population of the city allowed to participate in a free election.

At the end of November 1946 – Ernst Reuter had just returned to Berlin – the communists suffered heavy defeat. The Socialist Unity Party gained 19.8 per cent of votes, the CDU 22.2 per cent and the Social Democrats won comfortably with 48.7 per cent.

The Communists soon reacted. The Russians prevented Reuter from taking office after his election as mayor by imposing their veto. Reuter was not able to carry out his duties fully until after Berlin was divided and the blockade separated the free part of the city from the rest of the world.

After resuming his political activities in Berlin he soon recognised the decisive struggle in which the West was involved with the East. He used the full force of his personality in his dealings with the protesting powers, especially the Americans, and with the political forces in what was soon to become the Federal Republic in order to preserve the freedom of Berlin. He managed to convince and arouse people and spur them on to active help and support.

His never-ending militancy is revealed in his famous speech to seven Berliners before the Reichstag on 9 September 1948 at the height of the blockade:



Ernst Reuter

(Photo: dpa)

"People of the world, people of America, Britain, France and Italy, look at this city and realise that you must not and cannot surrender this city and this people. The only possibility for us all is to stand together until this battle has been won, until this battle has ended with victory over the enemy, victory over the powers of darkness."

Ernst Reuter longed for this victory but did not live to see it. Ernst Reuter's legacy continues to exist for Berlin and the free world. His successors – Walter Schreiber, Otto Suhr, Willy Brandt and Klaus Schütz – have all been measured against him. Reuter's battle against slavery and oppression is as relevant today as it was twenty years ago.

Diethart Goos

(Die Welt, 29 September 1973)

Bonn runs into difficulties over West Berlin and the refugee question

Few days pass without mention of difficulties in connection with Berlin. The interpretation of the Four Power Agreement and the question of the three Western sectors' links with the Federal Republic have become a subject of controversy between Bonn and the Eastern European States, with the Soviet Union at their head, far sooner than expected.

The practical side of the Berlin Agreement has proceeded without friction. This applies for example to travel on the transit routes to and from Berlin, movement from one part of the city to another and visits by West Berliners to the German Democratic Republic.

But the regulations governing West Berlin's ties with the Federal Republic under the Four Power Agreement are proving more difficult to put into practice. Admittedly, many observers suspected even twelve months ago that the Soviet Union would not give up its influence in West Berlin so quickly, if at all.

Russia's diplomatic moves in the three Western capitals last autumn must be seen in this context as a rather defensively phrased statement of its legal reservations.

Bonn and East Berlin had shortly before begun to discuss the voting rights of Berlin deputies in the Bundestag and the GDR People's Chamber, evidently without adequate consultation with Moscow.

Then came the argument about which flags should be raised before the Russian Industrial Exhibition in West Berlin this spring. The problem of "juridical persons" was raised during Leonid Brezhnev's visit to Bonn. The discussion is still continuing where government departments are concerned.

A scientific agreement is already in completed form apart from the question of West Berlin's inclusion. It could not be signed in May as planned and has not been signed to this very day because of the controversy surrounding the inclusion of West Berlin's academic institutes affiliated to the Max Planck Society for the Advancement of Science.

Chancellor Willy Brandt and General Secretary Leonid Brezhnev agreed during the latter's recent visit on the strict observance and full application of the Berlin Agreement but there have as yet been no concrete results.

Admittedly, the latest source of disagreement – the inclusion of West Berlin in Rechtshilfe-Abkommen (the agreement allowing FRG diplomatic missions to pass on requests from West Berlin courts for documents and other legal material located abroad) with Eastern European States – dates from further back than the summer of 1973. The establishment of diplomatic relations with Prague as well as Budapest and Sofia has been postponed for the time being because of this question.

Difficulties with Poland date from even further back. Before the establishment of diplomatic relations the Polish Military Mission in West Berlin was responsible for requests for help by "juridical persons" in both West Berlin and the Federal Republic. The same is still true of Prague's military mission. Only Hungary and Bulgaria which are not represented in West Berlin conduct requests for help by more direct channels. Courts in both West Berlin and the Federal Republic have to write directly to the appropriate authorities in the country in question.

So far there have been no difficulties with Bucharest, following a verbal agreement after the Berlin settlement. But the situation is different in the case of Poland.

The few requests for help received after the establishment of diplomatic relations in September 1972 were at first dealt with by the Polish Military Mission in West Berlin as the consular department of the Polish embassy in Cologne was "not so advanced.

Since then practice has varied. In some cases – less than twenty in all – requests from West Berlin have been passed on via Bonn's embassy in Warsaw and the Polish reply has come via the Polish Military Mission in West Berlin.

But in February this year the Polish Embassy refused to accept a West Berlin court's request for help, claiming that the Military Mission in West Berlin was responsible.

In May it was stated officially by the Federal Republic that requests by West Berlin courts would be dealt with as before by the Polish Military Mission.

These incidents have strengthened the Federal Republic's resolve to bring some clarity into the situation before establishing diplomatic relations with Prague.

Questions have however been asked in Bonn as to why State Secretary Frank did not immediately raise the issue with the Soviet Union as one of the signatories of the Four Power Agreement. Czechoslovakia as the weakest link in the chain was evidently not the correct addressee.

The government can confront the Russians with a number of weighty arguments in this dispute. The question of legal aid played no role at all in the Four Power negotiations. All the Russians were concerned about was that Bonn would not draw conclusions unfavourable to Moscow in respect of the practice of West Berlin's issuing its own passports. The term consular services was therefore substituted for the otherwise normal ... consular functions though American diplomats are still treating this as meaning the same.

However, the Federal Republic is more or less alone in dealing with this question. Despite their basic agreement with Bonn's interpretation of the issue, the Western Powers do not attach so much importance to the problem. That is why the Allies have not approached the Russians on the subject.

The talks in New York between Foreign Ministers Walter Scheel and Andrei Gromyko during the latest session of the United Nations General Assembly have evidently provided the ... impetus towards ending the dispute.

But there was no progress at all in the latest consultations with the Poles. Though the atmosphere of the talks with Deputy Polish Foreign Minister C... was on the whole good, no settlement could be reached, not even on the question of the resettlement of Germans living in Poland which the Foreign ... raised as soon as the Poles mentioned their extremely precise credit proposals.

There is already mention of ... Scheel's planned visit to Warsaw ... postponed from mid-October to a later date. It is not yet known what will happen to Party Secretary ... Gierek's visit to the Federal Republic planned for next spring.

However it is reckoned in Bonn that these difficulties should be overcome in the foreseeable future and that the stagnant Ostpolitik can once again ... the ground.

Dettmar Cramer

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 25 September 1973)

■ SOCIAL WELFARE

Bonn probes measures to back up abortion law reform

Bonn's politicians reacted calmly to what must have must have been the large-scale demonstration calling for legalised abortions. The governing coalition has agreed on a law permitting abortions within the first three months of pregnancy and the ranks of the opposition cannot be described as solid.

At a press conference organised by Social Democrat women politicians in Bonn, Helga Timm, a member of the special committee discussing abortion law reform, was confident that the three-months solution would be approved.

"Time is on our side," Elfriede Eilers said. The continual discussion of abortion law reform over the past two years has led to a change of mood among both politicians and the public. That is true of city-dwellers in the north as well as the more rural population in the south.

There is no longer any argument in Bonn about the need for abortion law reform. The women politicians who spoke to the press were far more concerned about the welfare measures to back it up.

The SPD and FDP have submitted a Bill to the Bundestag calling for individual medical advice on questions of contraception by right and proposing that medical insurance schemes should cover the cost of medical care for women having an abortion.

Asked whether contributions would rise as a result, the women politicians answered with a cautious no. The increased cost will be minimal when seen as a percentage of total expenditure, they claim.

According to their calculations, medical insurance schemes would have to pay fifty thousand Marks for every thousand consultations and 220,000 Marks for the same number of abortions.

The government is to contribute an annual sum of 55 million Marks a year from 1974 onwards and the Federal states and local authorities will add a further twelve million Marks.

There is no exact estimate of the costs that will then be saved on medical treatment following operations conducted by back-street abortionists. The amount that the medical insurance schemes now have to pay is thought to be considerable. Only time will reveal the cost of the new provisions.

Medical insurance companies are obliged to cover the cost of consultation, examination and the prescription of contraceptives. The patient must however cover the cost of the contraceptives.

If the patient is unable to meet the cost, welfare aid may be claimed under paragraph 70 of the Federal Welfare Aid Law. This also applies to consultation and abortions for women not covered by any medical insurance scheme.

This aid for family planning is covered by paragraph 27 of the Federal Welfare Aid Law ("Help in Special Circumstances"). This corresponds to the principle that family planning should not fail because the persons seeking help cannot afford the necessary costs," the preamble to the Bill explains.

It is being considered whether to make health departments and not the welfare authorities responsible for issuing prescriptions enabling women to obtain free contraceptives. Because of the social stigma they think is involved, many women decide not to take the Pill.

There is also a motion before the Bundestag calling for more advice centres for family planning. "We want advice and contraception to become the rule, not abortion," Marie Schlei comments.

So far the Federal Republic has only fifty "Pro familia" advice centres and is thus underdeveloped in this respect. Fifty further centres of this type are now planned and they will adopt differing methods to explore the various opportunities open to them.

These advice centres will employ a doctor, social workers, psychologists and nursing sister and will work in close cooperation with a hospital, a general practitioner or the authorities.

Trials with mobile advice centres will be conducted in rural areas and the *Pro familia* service will also be able to take its place within already existing institutions such as a public health department.

The fifty new advice centres will be tested for three years and could be backed financially by the public health service, the Churches and the *Pro familia* organisation. The Health Ministry also plans to distribute pamphlets via firms and doctors.

A number of laws are planned to supplement abortion law reform. One of them – the Law for the Improvement of Medical Insurance Benefits – is due to take effect in 1974. It contains two long-discussed provisions which will benefit mothers.

At present mothers who are seriously ill or are prescribed a spell at a sanatorium have to make their own arrangements about the running of the home in their absence.

This poses insurmountable problems for many women without helpful friends or relations. Medical treatment has often proved futile as a result of the mother's being unable to leave the home for longish periods.

In future medical insurance companies will pay the cost of a help in such cases. One condition is that the insured party is in a hospital or sanatorium and no other person living in the same household can take over the household chores. The family is therefore not obliged to contact the grandmother and pay for her to travel from say Lake Constance to Kiel to take care of the home. The household must also contain a child who is under eight years of age or is handicapped and in need of care.

This is an important step forward in theory but what will happen in practice? Where are the home helps who will jump into the breech when a case of this type arises? They are after all in short supply.

The SPD's women politicians explained how they wished to attract home helps. "Nobody can be expected to work for the good of their soul," Marie Schlei states. "Home helps should not assume responsibilities out of sheer kindness but have a right to adequate payment."

The medical insurance companies can supply their own home helps, borrow them at an appropriate fee or reimburse members for the costs of a home help they engage. The grandmother from Lake Constance would therefore have the right to claim payment as her daughter's or daughter-in-law's home help. She could be paid at official rates. In Berlin for example home helps employed by the labour welfare association are paid 6.30 Marks an hour.

The second provision in the Bill is just as important. Insured parties will be allowed to receive sickness benefit when a child under eight has to remain at home because of illness.

Working mothers will thus have one of their greatest worries taken from their shoulders. In the past they have been faced by a conflict of two duties whenever their children have been taken ill. In some cases they have risked dismissal to take care of their sick children.

Working mothers will now be able to claim sickness benefit and unpaid leave. This right to unpaid leave in such cases cannot be repudiated or even restricted in the working contract.

The injured party – that is both mothers and fathers – is allowed sickness benefit and unpaid leave for five working days a calendar year for every child. The amount of sickness benefit depends on the wage earned. The amount is also determined by the sickness benefit that would be paid to the insured party after the maximum lenght of paid sick leave had been exceeded.

There is some justification for asking how much this will cost the community. But a solution has been found that will almost cover the extra costs. The sick note bonus will be abolished in future and the 390 million Marks this is expected to save will almost balance the estimated extra expenditure of 440 million. The medical insurance companies therefore see no need to increase their premiums.

Politicians of all shades of opinion, and not only women, have long fought for better conditions for working mothers. The new law will represent an important advance.

Women who have remained at home because they are worried about what might happen to their children in the event of illness (the child's or their own) will then be encouraged to go out to work again.

Mothers who are forced to work to maintain their family need no longer live in constant fear of illness. Many of them will be able to devote themselves to their work more cheerfully as they know that they and their families will be taken care of if the need arises. *Heike Mundzeck*

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 29 September 1973)

Fewer married woman go out to work

Baden-Württemberg's Statistics Bureau has published figures revealing that fewer married women in the Federal Republic return to their former place of employment despite all official efforts and the considerable demand for women workers among employers.

The Federal state's Statistics Bureau based its figures on the 1970 census. By comparing this information with the trends observed on the labour market since 1961, it was able to forecast future developments. Population and education policy trends were also taken into account.

There are still a large number of women who return to work at the age of forty after they have raised their family but this tendency has reached nowhere near the massive proportions of the period between 1961 and 1970, the Statistics Bureau claims.

The Bureau also points out that the proportion of nineteen-year-old girls at work has been dropping steadily for more than twelve years. In 1961 the figure was still as high as 86 per cent. By 1970 it had dropped to 79 per cent. The proportion is expected to sink still further to 74 per cent.

One of the main reasons for this trend is the longer time girls spend at school.

After the age of nineteen the proportion of women at work drops steadily until the age of thirty. Early marriage and more years of education mean that more and more women marry as soon as they leave school and never go out to work.

The longer period of education has also led to a decrease in the proportion of unskilled workers (both male and female) in the working population. People who spend a long time at school want to become white-collar workers.

The Baden-Württemberg Statistics Bureau claims that the proportion of unskilled workers in the under-thirty age range is considerably smaller now than in 1961. There are no indications of this figure increasing in the next few years ...

(Handelsblatt, 21 September 1973)

Right to non- State pension to be guaranteed

Employees who have been promised a pension by their employer will still be able to maintain their claim after changing jobs if a Bill approved by the Cabinet is now passed by the Bundestag.

The Ministry of Labour has also stated that an employee should be guaranteed his non-State pension even if the firm for which he works goes bankrupt. But provisions for this are not contained in the present Bill as the Ministry describes the problems involved as complex. One of the major difficulties is calculating the probable risk.

The Ministry has also published details of a Bill guaranteeing employees back pay if a firm goes bankrupt.

Under the new private pensions Bill an employee's claim to a private pension will not normally lapse when he changes firms. However certain conditions must be met.

The worker retains his right to a private pension if he contracted to a scheme of this type at least ten years before leaving the firm. If pension rights have been awarded more recently the employee will have to have worked at least fifteen years in the firm to maintain his claim. One condition in both these cases is that the employee is over 35.

In furture firms will not be able to reduce the amount of old age pension they pay by calculating the benefits former employees receive from other sources. Private pension will no longer be docked whenever there is an increase in State pensions.

In order ot take account of the voluntary retirement scheme, the firm's private old age pension will be paid from the moment the employee starts drawing his State pension. The only condition is that he is at least 63.

The Ministry of Labour stressed that the provisions contained in the Bill, which has yet to be approved by the Bundestag, are the minimum demands. More far-reaching provisions favouring the employee can be negotiated in pay deals, in internal factory agreeements or even on a personal level. At present about half of all employees have been promised an old age pension by their firm.

The second section of the Bill improves the position of civil servants, judges and professional soldiers who have had to quit State service at an earlier date than intended.

To compensate them for the special benefits they would have been able to claim as civil servants, they will be allowed to have an additional insurance policy under the State pensions scheme.

In future this additional insurance policy will be supplemented by a similar type of scheme run by the welfare bureau of the central government and Federal states or the local authorities' welfare departments.

This additional insurance policy scheme will be governed by the same time limits as those set out in the Bill guaranteeing workers' private pension rights. The estimated cost of the scheme will be between 40 and 45 million Marks a year.

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, 20 September 1973)

■ CURRENCY

Nairobi IMF conference gets to grips with currency reform

The prospects of the international monetary system slowly settling down have improved a little. This is as much as can be said bearing in mind that the interests of individual countries and groups of countries remain difficult to reconcile.

A number of the sine qua nons on which any better system must necessarily be based do not exist. The US balance of payments, for instance, is still well in the red. And with everyone wanting to get a look-in at the conference table it is most unlikely that agreement will prove swift.

These facts were brought home at Nairobi, although the IMF meeting also gave rise to a number of hopes. There is certainly less occasion than ever to respond to mentions of the monetary system and the international balance of payments with a look of polite but complete boredom.

Experience has shown that the flow of money between one country or continent and another has no mean bearing on the value of the money in one's own bank account. And then there is liquidity and its influence on prices.

The man in the street has come to realise how closely related to the Mark and dollar parities sales of Volkswagens in the United States are. Monetary matters have long since ceased to interest only the illustrious few whose specialised knowledge is either academic or professional but whose business is money

It takes this increased awareness of the significance of what is at stake to account for the interest shown in many parts of the world in a gathering such as Nairobi at which days were spent arguing the toss about complicated monetary minutiae.

The Nairobi IMF meeting has come in for harsh criticism in many quarters, the feeling being that delegates have merely attended a talking-shop and run up expenses in the process. Yet the countless speeches did provide some pointers of substantial significance for future developments.

It is, for instance, generally acknowledged that the inflation spiral is the sworn enemy of a sound economic and social set-up. No one appears still to cling to the view that the current inflation rates have any saving graces whatsoever.

What is more, this realisation is shared in equal measure by the developing and the developed countries. The developing countries in particular pointed out time and time again that in the final analysis it was they who footed the bill, what with aid declining in value and the pdces of their imports soaring.

Both awareness of and dissatisfaction with inflation have intensified, and substantial agreement was reached at Nairobi as to the aims to which a new monetary system must be geared: first and foremost greater stability and symmetry.

Never again must one single currency occupy so crucial a position that a sneeze from it makes the entire system catch cold. In economic policy all countries, particularly the industrialised countries, must keep their houses in order and observe strict discipline.

Last but not least, greater priority must be attached to the interests of the Third World. It goes without saying, however, that the proof of the pudding is in the eating. The Bretton Woods system was based on the overwhelming supremacy of the US economy in the aftermath of the Second World War. America retains the most powerful individual economy, but others, notably Europe and Japan, are giving Uncle Sam a run for his money.

In relative terms, then, America's role has declined in importance. Any new monetary system must take this change into account. This is the crux of the problem involved.

What is to happen now that the Nairobi conference is over? The most salient outcome is that the group of twenty countries most concerned with reform proposals has set itself a deadline. A fresh concept is to be drawn up by the end of next July.

It would then be submitted to the annual IMF conference in autumn for approval. This would be followed by the drafting of more detailed texts and country-by-country ratification. The new monetary system would be in force in a couple of years or so.

Sceptics feel all this to be eyewash insofar as a new structure can be evolved neither in time for the deadline nor thereafter. Others reckon the decision to represent a realistic timetable, which is probably nearer the truth.

The reformers have lobbed the ball fairly and squarely into their own court and cannot climb down all that easily. In all probability, then, a draft will appear and may well be implemented, though whether gradually or at one fell swoop is another matter.

This means that decisions must be taken on a number of key issues in the next few months. Action is now called for, not words, and it is no secret that it will not be taken by the members of the IMF as a whole or even by the Group of Twenty.

In the final analysis the give and take will be between five countries, America, Britain, France, Japan and this country. This assertion is not a reflection of Western arrogance; it is merely a statement of fact.

Any decisions worthy of the name cannot fail to impose a fair-sized burden on the United States. The set-up envisaged in Europe would hem in the United States a good deal: on the home front, in military aid and in overseas commitments.

What is at stake is no more and no less than an adjustment of the international monetary system to conform with the present power position. Monetary policy is thus anything but a matter for theoreticians. It calls for foreign policy specialists.

Heinz Murmann

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, 27 September 1973)



Hunting the inflation dragon

(Cartoon: Luis Murschetz/Die...)

When inflation menaces it's every man for himself

Inflation is like a poisonous snake. No matter how the governments of industrialised countries try to get it under control it gets out of hand time and time again, envenoming the social set-up as a consequence.

Despite one price control phase after another the United States has not experienced such galloping inflation as last month alone for the past quarter of a century.

Price freezes and their ilk are proving relatively ineffective in Britain, Switzerland and Italy. In Japan prices have gone up by eleven per cent. In this country everyone is hoping that the current decline in the inflation rate (prices are now only 7.2 per cent up on a year ago) will prove permanent.

Every country has evolved its own means of combating inflation. Some have imposed wage and price controls, others have frozen both. Bonn and the Bundesbank are trying their luck with free-market frills such as revaluation and income-tax surcharges. High interest rates and appeals for moderation are also part of the stock in trade.

No one anywhere has proved strikingly successful so far, though, Neither controls nor a free-market approach have proved able to stem the tide. The only tale one hears told is the politicians' "otherwise it would have been even worse" – which one can either take at face value or dismiss as high-falutin nonsense.

General helplessness is largely due to latter-day inflation being the result of both economic and political factors, which is why economists are finding it so difficult to deal with the situation.

True, too much money in circulation, unrealistic exchange rates and surplus demand are contributory factors, but the crucial causes of inflation are the struggle between social groups for a larger slice of the cake and the inability of the State to mediate sternly enough.

Perhaps it is just as well we have such a glaring example on the home front. The ruthlessness of the airport control-tower staff and the powerlessness of the government to counter the selective go-slow are a text-book example of the problems involved.

In other countries it has been the dustmen, the Metro drivers or the power station workers who have carelessly resorted to blackmail of society in order to accomplish their aims.

Other social groups tread the same path more discreetly and circumspectly. Even though they all are convinced they are claiming no more than their due the sum total of their claims represents more than is available. The result is inflation.

The alarming factor is that the point now appears to have been reached at which the decline in purchasing power is the main argument fielded in support of increasingly higher demands. The danger of a spiral involving wages, prices, rents and pensions is growing.

Unless the trend is brought to a halt soon more will be at stake than the fate of the Mark. Inflation also threatens to poison relations between social groups that are already laying the blame at each other's door. Were this tendency also to gain momentum a solution would be rendered well-nigh impossible.

Michael Jungblut

(Die Zeit, 28 September 1973)

Inflation threatens the entire world

The more hopeful 'Europeans' [illegible]ised the bloc of seven Europe[an] countries (of the Nine only Britain and Italy are still going it alone) in relation to the dollar as being the first step on the road towards a European monetary union.

The joint float, they argued, pegging participating currencies to a maximum bandwidth of two and a quarter per cent above or below par and was aimed at evening out the exchange-rate fluctuations among European currencies. Was a single European currency not just around the corner?

This, as it transpired, was being overoptimistic. The bandwidth of 2¼ per cent might appear to forge closer links between correncies, but the appearances are deceptive. Central banks may be under an obligation to engage in supportive buying of each other's currencies should the need arise, but countries [illegible] cheerfully go it alone in respect of re[illegible] devaluation.

Since 1969 this country has revalued the Mark four times, most recently in March on the even of the joint float and then, on 29 June, by a further five and a half per cent.

Holland recently revalued the guilder by five per cent too. Now the guilder is long on a par with the Mark and the Dutch government's decision does not prove that Holland should have stayed in step with the Mark; it merely demonstrates that adminstrative agreements establishing bandwidths and the like are all well and good but that when the crunch comes other factors reduce them to the status of scraps of paper.

The Hague claims to have been forced primarily by stability considerations to revalue the guilder, but this is the line Bonn too has always told on similar occasions.

Even so, it is true that in recent months prices in Holland have been cheap in relation to the Mark and there has been lively trade in goods between the two countries, more especially in the direction of parts of this country not too far from the Dutch border.

What is more, land and real estate, always less expensive in Holland than in this country, have been selling like hot cakes to holidaymakers from this country who would at least like to think of themselves as the owners of a bungalow by the sea.

The upshot was additional demand that led to an inflation rate of eight per cent

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■ MONEY

Bonn no longer willing to offset troop costs with arms purchases

Joachim Hiehle of the Ministry of Finance returned from Washington empty-handed. After the first round of currency exchange talks Hiehle refused to describe his mission as either successful or unsuccessful. "You can never tell after the first round of talks," he commented. "Besides, the negotiators have agreed not to issue any statement for the time being."

As far as Finance Minister Helmut Schmidt is concerned, this silence means that one of the greatest threats to his budget is still as unpredictable as ever. And this threat is considerable.

The Americans are demanding some eight milliard Marks from Bonn to offset the cost of stationing their troops in the Federal Republic over the next two years. This is just under two milliard Marks more than the figure agreed in the last negotiations two years ago. The reason for the increase is the twenty-per-cent rise in the US force's expenditure on services.

Washington repeats its demand every two years. Ever since 1961 Bonn has covered anything up to eighty per cent of the foreign exchange that the United States loses throught stationing her troops in this country. So far this has cost Bonn some 35 milliard Marks.

Negotiations were easier in the past as the Defence Ministry was able to balance a large proportion of American expenditure by purchasing arms and equipment in the United States. But the Federal Republic's need for American arms has been reduced considerably in recent years.

Two years ago the Federal Republic was able to balance the foreign currency losses incurred by the United States by purchasing some four milliard Marks' worth of American arms and equipment. Buying Phantom jets alone cost 1.6 milliard Marks. But Defence Minister Georg Leber's arsenal is now full.

The Defence Ministry recently decided to purchase the heavy artillery missile system LANCE from the United States but the 250 million Marks or so the project will cost is hardly likely to soften American demands, especially as only about forty million Marks are to be spent on these missiles in 1973 and 1974.

"The opportunities of balancing the loss of American foreign currency by purchasing arms and equipment in the States are extremely limited," Peter Würtz, the SPD's defence expert explains. "We must consider whether or not to switch to civilian purchases."

If Washington refuses to accept a deal of this type, the scale of American demands could lead to the cancellation of a large-scale military project in which Bonn has participated over a number of years – the construction and development of the MRCA fighter in which the Federal Republic has played a major role alongside Britain.

The more money the government has to pay the United States to offset troop costs, the greater will be the opposition within the SPD Bundestag party against the MRCA project – and there are enough doubts already.

Defence Ministry experts have also drawn up a programme to offset troop costs on the one hand and combat the American soldiers' ennui with Europe on the other. As the ranks too would like to bring their families to Europe with them – as is their right – Bonn could help them overcome the problem of the high rents charged in this country by building better accommodation for these soldiers, thus making their stay in the Federal Republic more attractive. The costs of this accommodation would have no effect on the economy as the boffins suggest using American prefabricates.

Bonn undertook to renovate the old dilapidated barracks under the last agreement covering the period from 1971 to 1973. The Minister of Finance spent six hundred millions Marks on this in the period in question.

The accommodation programme hatched out by Defence Ministry experts has the advantage that the Federal Republic could profit from the investment after the possible reduction of forces.

Another method of offsetting troop costs is to purchase long-term American bonds at an interest rate below what is normal on the market. Under the last offset agreement two years ago the Federal Bank bought US bonds worth two milliard Marks.

The conditions the purchase was entered into have cost Bonn some one hundred million Marks in lost interest. It is doubtful whether Finance Minister Helmut will be prepared to purchase another five to six milliard Marks' worth of bonds.

One certainty however is that the government has no intention of offsetting troop costs through cash payments from the Federal budget. Chancellor Willy Brandt ruled out this eventuality when he said: "I do not gain the impression that the American government intends to sell us soldiers."

Brandt would like our allies in Washington to remember how great the Federal Republic's sacrifices have been on the money market. Before leaving Bonn, the Federal Republic's negotiating team was told to outline the full extent of Bonn's actions in this sector.

"The milliards spent by the Federal Republic to keep the money market in order represent the good will with which we enter negotiations," the Chancellor states.

The negotiations are closely connected with the international currency situation, as a remark by Joachim Hiehle revealed. Asked when the offset talks would resume, he replied: "Perhaps that will be decided in Nairobi." Nairobi was the venue of the international monetary conference seeking a solution of current currency problems.

Wolfgang Hoffmann

(Die Zeit, 28 September 1973)

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in a country that can least cope with it. Besides, the sale of land to foreign nationals is something of a problem in all European countries.

The guilder is now more expensive in relation to the Mark. 100 guilders now cost 94.46 Marks as against 91.73arks on 14 September.

Mark and guilder revaluation demonstrate convincingly enough that we are still a long way from uniformity among European currencies – and still longer from the EMU!

Dietrich Zwätz

(Deutsche Zeitung, 21 September 1973)

Anglo-FRG foundation not yet in operation

President Gustav Heinemann took along a gift when visiting London last year – the basic capital for a Society Study Foundation payable in five annual instalments of three million Marks.

In March Premier Edward Heath and Chancellor Willy Brandt signed the final agreement in Bonn. The first patrons of the Foundation are the Duke of Edinburgh and President Heinemann.

Since then economists and other scientists in Britain have been waiting for the Foundation to start work – that is to finance research projects. They will have to remain patient for some time yet, probably until next spring.

Although the first annual instalment of three million Marks has already been transferred to the Foundation, it is obvious that nothing takes so much time as particularly important projects resulting from European or bilateral idealism.

In Britain foundations require the assent of the Sovereign. The document she signs and seals is a detailed statute and definition fo the foundation's responsibilities – all penned in archaic legal English.

Several months has been spent compiling the text on the British side and agreement often had to be reached with the donors in Bonn on one point or another. Specialist translators often had to be brought in on the Federal Republic as a result.

The whole project reveals the difficulties facing European ventures as a result of varying legal systems. One diplomat involved in the project suggested that it might not be a bad thing if the first research commissioned by the Foundation were a study of the difficulties encountered in establishing it.

As the Queen first has to sign the document, a good deal of time may elapse before the Foundation can officially begin work. Then a day will have to be found when all twelve committee members can meet round one table – and Prince Philip has time for a few words of encouragement in his capacity as patron.

Although nothing has been announced officially, it is rumoured that a committee has already been appointed. It is said to consist of six Britons and six Germans though absolute silence is still being maintained about their names.

It is claimed alsewhere in London that British and German businessmen will sit on the committee to decide how the Foundation is to function. It can also be assumed that the two trade union leaders Vic Feather and Heinz-Oskar Feather will have seats on the committee as will. A number of diplomats are expected to be appointed too.

Some of the members will also be academics – after all it is an academic foundation. Among names conjectured are Professor William Gregor Mc Clelland, head of the Manchester Business School, Carl Christian von Weizsäcker, Bielefeld University's young professor of economics, and Professor Hans Leussink.

Most foundation committees appear to lead a rather remote existence but others also carry out what they have been appointed for and sometimes do considerably more. Some of the Britons who have helped draw up the plans believe this committee could be so vigorous that it might be best to appoint a secretary-general who would both chair meetings and act as an administrator. He would also be the kind of man who could raise more funds. After all, three million Marks a year is only a starter.

But the committee would be ill-advised to consider this aspect when appointing its secretary-general. The Foundation has an extremely broad range of subjects to cover and research will cover such varied issues as pollution, worker participation, town planning, the right to strike, new mental and physical diseases and the energy crisis.

An experienced academic will therefore be required as secretary-general to allocate and supervise research projects. He should also be appointed in a full-time capacity. All other members of the committee will be acting on a part-time basis. They will certainly by able to provide stimulus but this alone is not sufficient.

If the Foundation is to bear fruit, it needs a capable and adequately-paid secretary-general (the committee will also decide what salary is to be paid but a suitable candidate will hardly be found for less than ten thousand pounds a year).

The man elected should be a capable university teacher, with practical economic experience, administrative talents and the ability to win new donors. People of this calibre are rare but they do exist.

Christian Ferber

(Die Welt, 24 September 1973)

Industrial marriage bureau succeeds

The European Commission is "satisfied" with the work of the Bureau for the Promotion of Industrial Cooperation the so-called "industrial marriage bureau", which began its activities on 1 May this year.

In the first three months of its operations the institution handled 259 applications for information leading to cooperative ventures with a company in one of the other member ocuntries.

Most enquiries (35) came from the textiles industries, foodstuffs (31) and metalworking and machinery manufacture (30 and 28). More applications for a contact leading to partnership came from the Federal Republic (129) than any other country.

The bureau reports that the expectations of different member countries differ greatly. Companies in the Federal Republic were for the most part interested in embarking on cooperation that would allow for the preservation of the company's independence. Many British applicants were keen on partnerships involving mutual financial participation or even mergers and takeovers.

On average the companies applying for the bureau's services employed 300 workes.

The "industrial marriage bureau" supplies general information to applicant firms. It may be analyses of cooperative ventures in various branches or investigations into general conditions – legal, fiscal, financial or administrative – in other member countries.

But the bureau is not empowered to carry out any work that is already covered by the independent professional groups working on industrial advisory schemes. Use of the bureau is free. Its most important work is arranging contacts between companies in different countries.

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 11 September 1973)

■ ENVIRONMENTAL PROTECTION

Chemicals plant gives concern to Elbe orchard owners

Three years ago orchards bloomed and cattle grazed near Bützfleth on the Elbe, midway between Hamburg and Cuxhaven. Nowadays clouds of toxic gas billow forth from time to time from a Dow Chemicals plant that has more in common with science fiction than the contented cows of yesteryear.

Three years ago consultant engineer Hans Schmidt from Bützfleth was all in favour of the works, run by the fourth largest chemicals firm and largest chlorine manufacturer in the world and certain, he felt, to do the area a power of good.

Schmidt, 35, chairman of the residents association, is now doing everything in his power to stymie projected extensions to the works and to make sure that no more chlorine escapes.

Bützfleth, once an agricultural village in an orchard area, now part of the enlarged local authority of Stade, has come to be a textbook example of the increasingly frequent conflict between industrialisation and environmental protection.

On the one hand there is the chemicals giant, its presence due partly to the navigable Elbe and partly to the invitation extended to it; on the other there are the local people who feel they have been sold down the river and are being imposed upon by the newcomer. Midway between the two there is officialdom, and as one highranking civil servant has put it, the authorities are "having trouble keeping things under control."

"In the last four weeks the prevailing smell has only twice been of Dow," works manager Michel says, belittling the problem. "Dozens of other times the smell has been an agricultural one."

What he carefully omits to mention is that on 12 September he had to alarm the authorities because dimethyl ether had escaped from the newly built methyl cellulose plant and intoxicated workers in a salt-pit 660 metres (720 yards) away.

Last weekend Hans Schmidt smelt chlorine in a south-easterly breeze in his garden, two kilometres (a mile and a quarter) away from the works, – "and Dr Balthasar, Dow's environmental protection officer, has admitted to men that he noticed the smell in nearby Schöllisch too."

So far thirteen instances of chlorine gas escaping have been officially registered, "but of course we will never know how many there have really been," Schmidt adds.

The most serious instance so far, Michel admits, involved 3,000 kilos of chlorine, but he claims they were rendered largely harmless and 100 kilos at most were released into the atmosphere. Schmidt insists that the entire 3,000 kilos went straight into the surrounding air.

He has appealed to every conceivable authority, including Lower Saxon Premier Kubel, to whom he mentioned the fact that seven people died when chlorine escaped from a factory at Walsum in 1952. He wrote to the Prime Minister in May but has yet to receive an answer.

It is a well-known fact in Stade that regional disaster planning has been extended to include contingency provisions for a catastrophe at the Dow works. The authorities have supplied households in the region with a leaflet advising what to do in the event of chemicals accidents.

The advice offered in the event of chlorine escaping is "clear off against the wind" and "close all doors and windows."

All thirteen instances reported have been investigated by the authorities, who have reached the conclusion that technical hitches and human error have been responsible in equal measure.

When the dimethyl ether escaped, for instance, it transpired that a worker had forgotten to turn on the cooling-water tap after a repair. The gas overheated and blew the safety disc. "Safety discs," says engineer Schmidt, "are not enough; relief pressure valves are what are needed."

In other instances valves have been destroyed because the chlorine has combined with water to form hydrochloric acid. In the aftermath fifteen measuring devices have been placed at strategic points around the factory grounds and keep a round-the-clock check on chlorine, but fail to register other escaped gases.

Fifteen measuring stations are too few, Schmidt complains. His residents association insists on complete safety. In the Manual of Dangerous Substances, the *Bible* of environmental conservationists, Schmidt has noted that "chlorine usually damages your health as soon as it is smelt."

He accuses the manufacturer of misleading the general public and the authorities. In the two applications for permission to proceed with Stage II of construction, involving extensions that would result in twice the present daily clorine production figure – 2,000 tons in all, Dow play down the element of risk, Schmidt claims.

With reference to Paragraph 16 of the factory regulations ("considerable nuisance or danger for the general public") the residents association has lodged an appeal against Stage II.

Whether the appeal will prove much use is another matter. The agreement between Dow Chemicals and Bützfleth specifies that the local authority is entitled to buy back land the firm does not need. But the firm plans to go ahead and build.

The agreement was reached with the approval and assistance of the state government of Lower Saxony in the person of Economic Affairs Minister Möller (CDU). Burgomaster Dreyer, currently a CDU Opposition member of the Bundestag, is still a keen member of the residents association but was at the time all in favour of the works. So was Hans Schmidt, but he has since changed his mind with a vengeance.

His distrust has grown since the Welfare Ministry in Hanover has placed an embargo on further housing subsidies for Bützfleth. "The government must state clearly whether Bützfleth is fit for human abode or not," he demands. "It has a legal obligation to avert danger to the community."

Dow produce not only awkward and dangerous gases but also effluent that is pumped into the polluted lower reaches of the Elbe at what is probably its least resistant point, according to Herr Radünz, the civil engineer responsible for environmental protection in the Stade administrative district.

Were the methyl cellulose works to function at full pelt the burden on the river water would prove intolerable, so state Agriculture Minister Bruns has decreed that the works run on an experimental scale until such time as a biological purification unit has been installed. The purification plant will use the latest American techniques and bacteria will make short shrift of the cellulose effluent.

Dow's own environmental protection officer, Dr Balthasar, has had to abandon an experiment embarked on in conjunction with the hydrological research unit in Karlsruhe.

In order to check the extent to which effluent was purified some of it was channeled through an aquarium in which 200 fish swam. "Swam" is the operative word, since they recently died of proteinasis, according to Dr Balthasar, a disease originating in their protein feed.

Hans Schmidt bursts out laughing at the very idea of proteinasis. "I can imagine only too well what the fish actually died of," he says.

Chlorine alarms notwithstanding, Dow reckon they have fallen foul of local government reforms. "Three years ago the people of Bützfleth imagined that one day Stade would be a suburb of Büthfleth. Now the village has been made a suburb of Stade the reverse is the case. Büthfleth has the trouble and the tax revenue goes to Stade."

So far Dow have paid two million Marks in tax. Schmidt will hear nothing of these allegations, however. "We wouldn't have behaved any differently if we had been paid the two million Marks," he insists.

Josef Schmitt

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 26 September 1973)

Hanau's illegal waste disposal scandal

Over a period of several years hundreds of lorries owned by a sewage disposal firm in Hanau, near Frankfurt, passed the gates of rubbish tips in the Rhine-Main area with loads of what was ostensibly domestic garbage, but in reality polluted effluent and toxic industrial refuse.

The drivers claim to have had no idea that their cargo was dangerous. They produced forged documents, the watchmen took them and their freight at face value and not once did the factory inspectors check the goods.

Only a matter of weeks ago the public prosecutor finally managed to unravel details of a scandal that makes the Bochum poison affair seem small fry.

The toxic loads were carried at the dead of night. Between four and five in the morning the drivers occasionally saw the skull and crossbones emblem and the inscription "Danger Poison" among the garbage they were off-loading.

For two years, from spring 1971 till March this year, the Hanau refuse disposal firm Hanau-Tank-Kanal employed an entire fleet of heavy goods vehicles to transport a poisonous armada across country.

Some 60,000 tons of industrial garbage and 10,000 tons of polluted effluent including cyanide, arsenic, TNT, resin, oil slicks, acid, benzole and bromide were dumped on tips and in pits around Hesse, the Rhineland-Palatinate, Baden-Württemberg and the Saar.

As a rule the cargo was accompanied by forged papers declaring the load to be harmless. In point of fact, according to a Hesse environmental specialist, the solvents alone would be sufficient to render the water table over the entire country unfit for human use.

The pundits are already, at this early stage in the proceedings, talking in terms of the gravest poisonous garbage scandal in the history of the Federal Republic.

The man behind the scandal is Siegfried Plaumann, the owner of the firm, who has been in custody pending trial since 20 August. He is assumed to have earned millions by means of alleged environmental pollution.

Hanau public prosecutor Dr Eberhard Schramm, who had Plaumann placed under arrest for fear that he might get rid of evidence at his plush home in nearby Steinheim, has so far had little joy with his prisoner.

"Plaumann is not saying a word," Schramm admits. "His books are inaccurate and incomplete. We are having to piece everything together item by item, basing our case mainly on the evidence of witnesses who as coincidence would have it have themselves seen Plaumann's lorries at work."

So far thirty refuse tips used by Plaumann's lorries have been identified. Most of them are in the Hanau and Offenbach areas and near Bad Homburg and Heidelberg. But Hesse's Minister of Agriculture and the Environment, Dr Werner Best, is afraid that this is by far from being the end or the story.

There is meanwhile no doubt whatsoever that Plaumann pumped much of the effluent and its contents of resin and TNT, benzole, bromide and cyanide straight into the communal drainage system.

The environmental protection unit of Hesse criminal investigation department note that Plaumann undertook to dispose of the industrial refuse and toxic effluent in an appropriate manner on behalf of clients who paid up to 150 Marks per cubic metre.

Plaumann disposed of at most one per cent of the refuse in the manner intended. He saved time and money by dumping 99 per cent on tips intended solely for domestic garbage.

"Plaumann tricked such watchmen as there may have been," says Dr Best, "by providing his drivers with documents according to which the loads were mere domestic garbage. After a look at the papers the drivers were invariably allowed to pass and carry on with their dirty work."

Needless to say, the Hanau businessman made a small fortune in the process. The scandal could conceivably have been averted if only the authorities had been a little more vigilant. According to the drivers the firm was not checked once by factory inspectors during the two years in which thousands of tons of toxic materials were dumped left, right and centre.

It was more good luck than good management that the firm came under suspicion last spring. Between four and five one morning a police patrol car noticed a lorry dumping a load of industrial garbage on an uncontrolled tip near Offenbach. Suspecting that the load might contain toxic substances the police officers made a note of the name of the firm and the driver.

Samples of the garbage were sent to CID headquarters for analysis, but proved to have a clean bill of health. The CID did not give up, however. Not long afterwards it had discovered that Siegfried Plaumann's Hanau-Tank-Kanal lorries invariably dumped their cargo on uncontrolled tips.

In July the Darmstadt authorities prohibited the firm from engaging in refuse disposal any longer. By August there was one indication after another that Plaumann had illegally disposed of substantial amounts of toxic material. On 20 August a warrant for his arrest was issued.

In the wake of the Hanau scandal Hesse plans to shut down the 500 uncontrolled refuse tips around the state. "In six months' time there will not be one left," says Dr Best. "Tips will be fenced in, equipped with vermin control and fire-fighting facilities and manned day and night!"

The watchmen will not be village idiots who can be won over by a good yarn and a handful of cigars either, the Minister says. They will be intelligent guards on the lookout for offenders.

Hans-Hellmuth Kannenberg

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, 24 September 1973)

CURRENCY

Nairobi IMF conference gets to grips with currency reform

The prospects of the international monetary system slowly settling down have improved a little. This is as much as can be said bearing in mind that the interests of individual countries and groups of countries remain difficult to reconcile.

A number of the sine qua nons on which any better system must necessarily be based do not exist. The US balance of payments, for instance, is still well in the red. And with everyone wanting to get a look-in at the conference table it is most unlikely that agreement will prove swift.

These facts were brought home at Nairobi, although the IMF meeting also gave rise to a number of hopes. There is certainly less occasion than ever to respond to mentions of the monetary system and the international balance of payments with a look of polite but complete boredom.

Experience has shown that the flow of money between one country or continent and another has no mean bearing on the value of the money in one's own bank account. And then there is liquidity and its influence on prices.

The man in the street has come to realise how closely related to the Mark and dollar parities sales of Volkswagens in the United States are. Monetary matters have long since ceased to interest only the illustrious few whose specialised knowledge is either academic or professional but whose business is money

It takes this increased awareness of the significance of what is at stake to account for the interest shown in many parts of the world in a gathering such as Nairobi at which days were spent arguing the toss about complicated monetary minutiae.

The Nairobi IMF meeting has come in for harsh criticism in many quarters, the feeling being that delegates have merely attended a talking-shop and run up expenses in the process. Yet the countless speeches did provide some pointers of substantial significance for future developments.

It is, for instance, generally acknowledged that the inflation spiral is the sworn enemy of a sound economic and social set-up. No one appears still to cling to the view that the current inflation rates have any saving graces whatsoever.

What is more, this realisation is shared in equal measure by the developing and the developed countries. The developing countries in particular pointed out time and time again that in the final analysis it was they who footed the bill, what with aid declining in value and the prices of their imports soaring.

Both awareness of and dissatisfaction with inflation have intensified, and substantial agreement was reached at Nairobi as to the aims to which a new monetary system must be geared: first and foremost greater stability and symmetry.

Never again must one single currency occupy so crucial a position that a sneeze from it makes the entire system catch cold. In economic policy all countries, particularly the industrialised countries, must keep their houses in order and observe strict discipline.

Last but not least, greater priority must be attached to the interests of the Third World. It goes without saying, however, that the proof of the pudding is in the eating. The Bretton Woods system was based on the overwhelming supremacy of the US economy in the aftermath of the Second World War. America retains the most powerful individual economy, but others, notably Europe and Japan, are giving Uncle Sam a run for his money.

In relative terms, then, America's role has declined in importance. Any new monetary system must take this change into account. This is the crux of the problem involved.

What is to happen now that the Nairobi conference is over? The most salient outcome is that the group of twenty countries most concerned with reform proposals has set itself a deadline. A fresh concept is to be drawn up by the end of next July.

It would then be submitted to the annual IMF conference in autumn for approval. This would be followed by the drafting of more detailed texts and country-by-country ratification. The new monetary system would be in force in a couple of years or so.

Sceptics feel all this to be eyewash insofar as a new structure can be evolved neither in time for the deadline nor thereafter. Others reckon the decision to represent a realistic timetable, which is probably nearer the truth.

The reformers have lobbed the ball fairly and squarely into their own court and cannot climb down all that easily. In all probability, then, a draft will appear and may well be implemented, though whether gradually or at one fell swoop is another matter.

This means that decisions must be taken on a number of key issues in the next few months. Action is now called for, not words, and it is no secret that it will not be taken by the members of the IMF as a whole or even by the Group of Twenty.

In the final analysis the give and take will be between five countries, America, Britain, France, Japan and this country. This assertion is not a reflection of Western arrogance; it is merely a statement of fact.

Any decisions worthy of the name cannot fail to impose a fair-sized burden on the United States. The set-up envisaged in Europe would hem in the United States a good deal: on the home front, in military aid and in overseas commitments.

What is at stake is no more and no less than an adjustment of the international monetary system to conform with the present power position. Monetary policy is thus anything but a matter for theoreticians. It calls for foreign policy specialists.

Heinz Murmann

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, 27 September 1973)



Hunting the inflation dragon

(Cartoon: Luis Murschetz/Die Zeit)

When inflation menaces it's every man for himself

Inflation is like a poisonous snake. No matter how the governments of industrialised countries try to get it under control it gets out of hand time and time again, envenoming the social set-up as a consequence.

Despite one price control phase after another the United States has not experienced such galloping inflation as last month alone for the past quarter of a century.

Price freezes and their ilk are proving relatively ineffective in Britain, Switzerland and Italy. In Japan prices have gone up by eleven per cent. In this country everyone is hoping that the current decline in the inflation rate (prices are now only 7.2 per cent up on a year ago) will prove permanent.

Every country has evolved its own means of combating inflation. Some have imposed wage and price controls, others have frozen both. Bonn and the Bundesbank are trying their luck with free-market frills such as revaluation and income-tax surcharges. High interest rates and appeals for moderation are also part of the stock in trade.

No one anywhere has proved strikingly successful so far, though. Neither controls nor a free-market approach have proved able to stem the tide. The only tale one hears told is the politicians' "otherwise it would have been even worse" – which one can either take at face value or dismiss as high-falutin nonsense.

General helplessness is largely due to latter-day inflation being the result of both economic and political factors, which is why economists are finding it so difficult to deal with the situation.

True, too much money in circulation, unrealistic exchange rates and surplus demand are contributory factors, but the crucial causes of inflation are the struggle between social groups for a larger slice of the cake and the inability of the State to mediate sternly enough.

Perhaps it is just as well we have such a glaring example on the home front. The ruthlessness of the airport control-tower staff and the powerlessness of the government to counter the selective go-slow are a text-book example of the problems involved.

In other countries it has been the dustmen, the Metro drivers or the power station workers who have carelessly resorted to blackmail of society in order to accomplish their aims.

Other social groups tread the same path more discreetly and circumspectly. Even though they all are convinced they are claiming no more than their due the sum total of their claims represents more than is available. The result is inflation.

The alarming factor is that the point now appears to have been reached at which the decline in purchasing power is the main argument fielded in support of increasingly higher demands. The danger of a spiral involving wages, prices, rents and pensions is growing.

Unless the trend is brought to a halt soon more will be at stake than the fate of the Mark. Inflation also threatens to poison relations between social groups that are already laying the blame at each other's door. Were this tendency also to gain momentum a solution would be rendered well-nigh impossible.

Michael Jungblut

(Die Zeit, 28 September 1973)

Inflation threatens the entire world

The more hopeful 'Europeans' visualised the bloc of seven European countries (of the Nine only Britain and Italy are still going it alone) in relation to the dollar as being the first step on the road towards a European monetary union.

The joint float, they argued, pegging participating currencies to a maximum bandwidth of two and a quarter per cent above or below par and was aimed at evening out the exchange-rate fluctuations among European currencies. Was a single European currency not just around the corner?

This, as it transpired, was being overoptimistic. The bandwidth of 2¼ per cent might appear to forge close links between currencies, but the appearances are deceptive. Central banks may be under an obligation to engage in supportive buying of each other's currencies should the need arise, but countries can cheerfully go it alone in respect of revaluation and devaluation.

Since 1969 this country has revalued the Mark four times, most recently in March on the even of the joint float and then, on 29 June, by a further five and a half per cent.

Holland recently revalued the guilder by five per cent too. Now the guilder is long on a par with the Mark and the Dutch government's decision does not prove that Holland should have stayed in step with the Mark; it merely demonstrates that adminstrative agreements establishing bandwidths and the like are all well and good but that when the crunch comes other factors reduce them to the status of scraps of paper.

The Hague claims to have been forced primarily by stability considerations to revalue the guilder, but this is the story Bonn too has always told on similar occasions.

Even so, it is true that in recent months prices in Holland have been cheap in relation to the Mark and there has been a lively trade in goods between the two countries, more especially in the direction of parts of this country not too far from the Dutch border.

What is more, land and real estate, always less expensive in Holland than in this country, have been selling like hot cakes to holidaymakers from this country who would at least like to think of themselves as the owners of a bungalow by the sea.

The upshot was additional demand that led to an inflation rate of eight per cent

Continued on page 7

MONEY

Bonn no longer willing to offset troop costs with arms purchases

Joachim Hiehle of the Ministry of Finance returned from Washington empty-handed. After the first round of currency exchange talks Hiehle refused to describe his mission as either successful or unsuccessful. "You can never tell after the first round of talks," he commented. "Besides, the negotiators have agreed not to issue any statement for the time being."

As far as Finance Minister Helmut Schmidt is concerned, this silence means that one of the greatest threats to his budget is still as unpredictable as ever. And this threat is considerable.

The Americans are demanding some eight milliard Marks from Bonn to offset the cost of stationing their troops in the Federal Republic over the next two years. This is just under two milliard Marks more than the figure agreed in the last negotiations two years ago. The reason for the increase is the twenty-per-cent rise in the US force's expenditure on services.

Washington repeats its demand every two years. Ever since 1961 Bonn has covered anything up to eighty per cent of the foreign exchange that the United States loses throught stationing her troops in this country. So far this has cost Bonn some 35 milliard Marks.

Negotiations were easier in the past as the Defence Ministry was able to balance a large proportion of American expenditure by purchasing arms and equipment in the United States. But the Federal Republic's need for American arms has been reduced considerably in recent years.

Two years ago the Federal Republic was able to balance the foreign currency losses incurred by the United States by purchasing some four milliard Marks' worth of American arms and equipment. Buying Phantom jets alone cost 1.6 milliard Marks. But Defence Minister Georg Leber's arsenal is now full.

The Defence Ministry recently decided to purchase the heavy artillery missile system LANCE from the United States but the 250 million Marks or so the project will cost is hardly likely to soften American demands, especially as only about forty million Marks are to be spent on these missiles in 1973 and 1974.

"The opportunities of balancing the loss of American foreign currency by purchasing arms and equipment in the States are extremely limited," Peter Würtz, the SPD's defence expert explains. "We must consider whether or not to switch to civilian purchases."

If Washington refuses to accept a deal of this type, the scale of American demands could lead to the cancellation of a large-scale military project in which Bonn has participated over a number of years – the construction and development of the MRCA fighter in which the Federal Republic has played a major role alongside Britain.

The more money the government has to pay the United States to offset troop costs, the greater will be the opposition within the SPD Bundestag party against the MRCA project – and there are enough doubts already.

Defence Ministry experts have also drawn up a programme to offset troop costs on the one hand and combat the American soldiers' ennui with Europe on the other. As the ranks too would like to bring their families to Europe with them – as is their right – Bonn could help them overcome the problem of the high rents charged in this country by building better accommodation for these soldiers, thus making their stay in the Federal Republic more attractive. The costs of this accommodation would have no effect on the economy as the boffins suggest using American prefabricates.

Bonn undertook to renovate the old dilapidated barracks under the last agreement covering the period from 1971 to 1973. The Minister of Finance spent six hundred millions Marks on this in the period in question.

The accommodation programme hatched out by Defence Ministry experts has the advantage that the Federal Republic could profit from the investment after the possible reduction of forces.

Another method of offsetting troop costs is to purchase long-term American bonds at an interest rate below what is normal on the market. Under the last offset agreement two years ago the Federal Bank bought US bonds worth two milliard Marks.

The conditions the purchase was entered into have cost Bonn some one hundred million Marks in lost interest. It is doubtful whether Finance Minister Helmut will be prepared to purchase another five to six milliard Marks' worth of bonds.

One certainty however is that the government has no intention of offsetting troop costs through cash payments from the Federal budget. Chancellor Willy Brandt ruled out this eventuality when he said: "I do not gain the impression that the American government intends to sell us soldiers."

Brandt would like our allies in Washington to remember how great the Federal Republic's sacrifices have been on the money market. Before leaving Bonn, the Federal Republic's negotiating team was told to outline the full extent of Bonn's actions in this sector.

"The milliards spent by the Federal Republic to keep the money market in order represent the good will with which we enter negotiations," the Chancellor states.

The negotiations are closely connected with the international currency situation, as a remark by Joachim Hiehle revealed. Asked when the offset talks would resume, he replied: "Perhaps that will be decided in Nairobi." Nairobi was the venue of the international monetary conference seeking a solution of current currency problems.

Wolfgang Hoffmann

(Die Zeit, 28 September 1973)

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in a country that can least cope with it. Besides, the sale of land to foreign nationals is something of a problem in all European countries.

The guilder is now more expensive in relation to the Mark. 100 guilders now cost 94.46 Marks as against 91.73arks on 14 September.

Mark and guilder revaluation demonstrate convincingly enough that we are still a long way from uniformity among European currencies – and still longer from the EMU!

Dietrich Zwätz

(Deutsche Zeitung, 21 September 1973)

Anglo-FRG foundation not yet in operation

President Gustav Heinemann took along a gift when visiting London last year – the basic capital for a Society Study Foundation payable in five annual instalments of three million Marks.

In March Premier Edward Heath and Chancellor Willy Brandt signed the final agreement in Bonn. The first patrons of the Foundation are the Duke of Edinburgh and President Heinemann.

Since then economists and other scientists in Britain have been waiting for the Foundation to start work – that is to finance research projects. They will have to remain patient for some time yet, probably until next spring.

Although the first annual instalment of three million Marks has already been transferred to the Foundation, it is obvious that nothing takes so much time as particularly important projects resulting from European or bilateral idealism.

In Britain foundations require the assent of the Sovereign. The document she signs and seals is a detailed statute and definition fo the foundation's responsibilities – all penned in archaic legal English.

Several months has been spent compiling the text on the British side and agreement often had to be reached with the donors in Bonn on one point or another. Specialist translators often had to be brought in on the Federal Republic as a result.

The whole project reveals the difficulties facing European ventures as a result of varying legal systems. One diplomat involved in the project suggested that it might not be a bad thing if the first research commissioned by the Foundation were a study of the difficulties encountered in establishing it.

As the Queen first has to sign the document, a good deal of time may elapse before the Foundation can officially begin work. Then a day will have to be found when all twelve committee members can meet round one table – and Prince Philip has time for a few words of encouragement in his capacity as patron.

Although nothing has been announced officially, it is rumoured that a committee has already been appointed. It is said to consist of six Britons and six Germans though absolute silence is still being maintained about their names.

It is claimed elsewhere in London that British and German businessmen will sit on the committee to decide how the Foundation is to function. It can also be assumed that the two trade union leaders Vic Feather and Heinz-Oskar Feather will have seats on the committee as will. A number of diplomats are expected to be appointed too.

Some of the members will also be academics – after all it is an academic foundation. Among names conjectured are Professor William Gregor Mc Clelland, head of the Manchester Business School, Carl Christian von Weizsäcker, Bielefeld University's young professor of economics, and Professor Hans Leussink.

Most foundation committees appear to lead a rather remote existence but others also carry out what they have been appointed for and sometimes do considerably more. Some of the Britons who have helped draw up the plans believe this committee could be so vigorous that it might be best to appoint a secretary-general who would both chair meetings and act as an administrator. He would also be the kind of man who could raise more funds. After all, three million Marks a year is only a starter.

But the committee would be ill-advised to consider this aspect when appointing its secretary-general. The Foundation has an extremely broad range of subjects to cover and research will cover such varied issues as pollution, worker participation, town planning, the right to strike, new mental and physical diseases and the energy crisis.

An experienced academic will therefore be required as secretary-general to allocate and supervise research projects. He should also be appointed in a full-time capacity. All other members of the committee will be acting on a part-time basis. They will certainly by able to provide stimulus but this alone is not sufficient.

If the Foundation is to bear fruit, it needs a capable and adequately-paid secretary-general (the committee will also decide what salary is to be paid but a suitable candidate will hardly be found for less than ten thousand pounds a year).

The man elected should be a capable university teacher, with practical economic experience, administrative talents and the ability to win new donors. People of this calibre are rare but they do exist.

Christian Ferber

(Die Welt, 24 September 1973)

Industrial marriage bureau succeeds

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(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 11 September 1973)

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Three years ago consultant engineer Hans Schmidt from Bützfleth was all in favour of the works, run by the fourth largest chemicals firm and largest chlorine manufacturer in the world and certain, he felt, to do the area a power of good.

Schmidt, 35, chairman of the residents association, is now doing everything in his power to stymie projected extensions to the works and to make sure that no more chlorine escapes.

Bützfleth, once an agricultural village in an orchard area, now part of the enlarged local authority of Stade, has come to be a textbook example of the increasingly frequent conflict between industrialisation and environmental protection.

On the one hand there is the chemicals giant, its presence due partly to the navigable Elbe and partly to the invitation extended to it; on the other there are the local people who feel they have been sold down the river and are being imposed upon by the newcomer. Midway between the two there is officialdom, and as one highranking civil servant has put it, the authorities are "having trouble keeping things under control."

"In the last four weeks the prevailing smell has only twice been of Dow," works manager Michel says, belittling the problem. "Dozens of other times the smell has been an agricultural one."

What he carefully omits to mention is that on 12 September he had to alarm the authorities because dimethyl ether had escaped from the newly built methyl cellulose plant and intoxicated workers in a salt-pit 660 metres (720 yards) away.

Last weekend Hans Schmidt smelt chlorine in a south-easterly breeze in his garden, two kilometres (a mile and a quarter) away from the works, – "and Dr Balthasar, Dow's environmental protection officer, has admitted to men that he noticed the smell in nearby Schöllisch too."

So far thirteen instances of chlorine gas escaping have been officially registered, "but of course we will never know how many there have really been," Schmidt adds.

The most serious instance so far, Michel admits, involved 3,000 kilos of chlorine, but he claims they were rendered largely harmless and 100 kilos at most were released into the atmosphere. Schmidt insists that the entire 3,000 kilos went straight into the surrounding air.

He has appealed to every conceivable authority, including Lower Saxon Premier Kubel, to whom he mentioned the fact that seven people died when chlorine escaped from a factory at Walsum in 1952. He wrote to the Prime Minister in May but has yet to receive an answer.

It is a well-known fact in Stade that regional disaster planning has been extended to include contingency provisions for a catastrophe at the Dow works. The authorities have supplied households in the region with a leaflet advising what to do in the event of chemicals accidents.

The advice offered in the event of chlorine escaping is "clear off against the wind" and "close all doors and windows."

All thirteen instances reported have been investigated by the authorities, who have reached the conclusion that technical hitches and human error have been responsible in equal measure.

When the dimethyl ether escaped, for instance, it transpired that a worker had forgotten to turn on the cooling-water tap after a repair. The gas overheated and blew the safety disc. "Safety discs," says engineer Schmidt, "are not enough; relief pressure valves are what are needed."

In other instances valves have been destroyed because the chlorine has combined with water to form hydrochloric acid. In the aftermath fifteen measuring devices have been placed at strategic points around the factory grounds and keep a round-the-clock check on chlorine, but fail to register other escaped gases.

Fifteen measuring stations are too few, Schmidt complains. His residents association insists on complete safety. In the Manual of Dangerous Substances, the Bible of environmental conservationists, Schmidt has noted that "chlorine usually damages your health as soon as it is smelt."

He accuses the manufacturer of misleading the general public and the authorities. In the two applications for permission to proceed with Stage II of construction, involving extensions that would result in twice the present daily clorine production figure – 2,000 tons in all, Dow play down the element of risk, Schmidt claims.

With reference to Paragraph 16 of the factory regulations ("considerable nuisance or danger for the general public") the residents association has lodged an appeal against Stage II.

Whether the appeal will prove much use is another matter. The agreement between Dow Chemicals and Bützfleth specifies that the local authority is entitled to buy back land the firm does not need. But the firm plans to go ahead and build.

The agreement was reached with the approval and assistance of the state government of Lower Saxony in the person of Economic Affairs Minister Möller (CDU). Burgomaster Dreyer, currently a CDU Opposition member of the Bundestag, is still a keen member of the residents association but was at the time all in favour of the works. So was Hans Schmidt, but he has since changed his mind with a vengeance.

His distrust has grown since the Welfare Ministry in Hanover has placed an embargo on further housing subsidies for Bützfleth. "The government must state clearly whether Bützfleth is fit for human abode or not," he demands. "It has a legal obligation to avert danger to the community."

Dow produce not only awkward and dangerous gases but also effluent that is pumped into the polluted lower reaches of the Elbe at what is probably its least resistant point, according to Herr Radünz, the civil engineer responsible for environmental protection in the Stade administrative district.

Were the methyl cellulose works to function at full pelt the burden on the river water would prove intolerable, so state Agriculture Minister Bruns has decreed that the works run on an experimental scale until such time as a biological purification unit has been installed. The purification plant will use the latest American techniques and bacteria will make short shrift of the cellulose effluent.

Dow's own environmental protection officer, Dr Balthasar, has had to abandon an experiment embarked on in conjunction with the hydrological research unit in Karlsruhe.

In order to check the extent to which effluent was purified some of it was channeled through an aquarium in which 200 fish swam. "Swam" is the operative word, since they recently died of proteinasis, according to Dr Balthasar, a disease originating in their protein food.

Hans Schmidt bursts out laughing at the very idea of proteinasis. "I can imagine only too well what the fish actually died of," he says.

Chlorine alarms notwithstanding, Dow reckon they have fallen foul of local government reforms. "Three years ago the people of Bützfleth imagined that one day Stade would be a suburb of Büthfleth. Now the village has been made a suburb of Stade the reverse is the case. Büthfleth has the trouble and the tax revenue goes to Stade."

So far Dow have paid two million Marks in tax. Schmidt will hear nothing of these allegations, however. "We wouldn't have behaved any differently if we had been paid the two million Marks," he insists.

Josef Schmidt

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 26 September 1973)

Hanau's illegal waste disposal scandal

Over a period of several years hundreds of lorries owned by a sewage disposal firm in Hanau, near Frankfurt, passed the gates of rubbish tips in the Rhine-Main area with loads of what was ostensibly domestic garbage, but in reality polluted effluent and toxic industrial refuse.

The drivers claim to have had no idea that their cargo was dangerous. They produced forged documents, the watchmen took them and their freight at face value and not once did the factory inspectors check the goods.

Only a matter of weeks ago the public prosecutor finally managed to unravel details of a scandal that makes the Bochum poison affair seem small fry.

The toxic loads were carried at the dead of night. Between four and five in the morning the drivers occasionally saw the skull and crossbones emblem and the inscription "Danger Poison" among the garbage they were off-loading.

For two years, from spring 1971 till March this year, the Hanau refuse disposal firm Hanau-Tank-Kanal employed an entire fleet of heavy goods vehicles to transport a poisonous armada across country.

Some 60,000 tons of industrial garbage and 10,000 tons of polluted effluent including cyanide, arsenic, TNT, resin, oil slicks, acid, benzole and bromide were dumped on tips and in pits around Hesse, the Rhineland-Palatinate, Baden-Württemberg and the Saar.

As a rule the cargo was accompanied by forged papers declaring the load to be harmless. In point of fact, according to a Hesse environmental specialist, the solvents alone would be sufficient to render the water table over the entire country unfit for human use.

The pundits are already, at this early stage in the proceedings, talking in terms of the gravest poisonous garbage scandal in the history of the Federal Republic.

The man behind the scandal is Siegfried Plaumann, the owner of the firm, who has been in custody pending trial since 20 August. He is assumed to have earned millions by means of alleged environmental pollution.

Hanau public prosecutor Dr Eberhard Schramm, who had Plaumann placed under arrest for fear that he might get rid of evidence at his plush home in nearby Steinheim, has so far had little joy with his prisoner.

"Plaumann is not saying a word," Schramm admits. "His books are inaccurate and incomplete. We are having to piece everything together item by item, basing our case mainly on the evidence of witnesses who as coincidence would have it have themselves seen Plaumann's lorries at work."

So far thirty refuse tips used by Plaumann's lorries have been identified. Most of them are in the Hanau and Offenbach areas and near Bad Homburg and Heidelberg. But Hesse's Minister of Agriculture and the Environment, Dr Werner Best, is afraid that this is by far from being the end or the story.

There is meanwhile no doubt whatsoever that Plaumann pumped much of the effluent and its contents of resin and TNT, benzole, bromide and cyanide straight into the communal drainage system.

The environmental protection unit of Hesse criminal investigation department note that Plaumann undertook to dispose of the industrial refuse and toxic effluent in an appropriate manner on behalf of clients who paid up to 150 Marks per cubic metre.

Plaumann disposed of at most one per cent of the refuse in the manner intended. He saved time and money by dumping 99 per cent on tips intended solely for domestic garbage.

"Plaumann tricked such watchmen as there may have been," says Dr Best, "by providing his drivers with documents according to which the loads were mere domestic garbage. After a look at the papers the drivers were invariably allowed to pass and carry on with their dirty work."

Needless to say, the Hanau businessman made a small fortune in the process. The scandal could conceivably have been averted if only the authorities had been a little more vigilant. According to the drivers the firm was not checked once by factory inspectors during the two years in which thousands of tons of toxic materials were dumped left, right and centre.

It was more good luck than good management that the firm came under suspicion last spring. Between four and five one morning a police patrol car noticed a lorry dumping a load of industrial garbage on an uncontrolled tip near Offenbach. Suspecting that the load might contain toxic substances the police officers made a note of the name of the firm and the driver.

Samples of the garbage were sent to CID headquarters for analysis, but proved to have a clean bill of health. The CID did not give up, however. Not long afterwards it had discovered that Siegfried Plaumann's Hanau-Tank-Kanal lorries invariably dumped their cargo on uncontrolled tips.

In July the Darmstadt authorities prohibited the firm from engaging in refuse disposal any longer. By August there was one indication after another that Plaumann had illegally disposed of substantial amounts of toxic material. On 20 August a warrant for his arrest was issued.

In the wake of the Hanau scandal Hesse plans to shut down the 500 uncontrolled refuse tips around the state. "In six months' time there will not be one left," says Dr Best. "Tips will be fenced in, equipped with vermin control and fire-fighting facilities and manned day and night!"

The watchmen will not be village idiots who can be won over by a good yarn and a handful of cigars either, the Minister says. They will be intelligent guards on the lookout for offenders.

Hans-Hellmuth Kannenberg

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, 24 September 1973)

THE ARTS

Chinese art exhibition at Charlottenburg

When, three years ago, preparations were set in motion for mounting the China exhibition in Charlottenburg Castle no one realised just how appropriate the exhibition would be. The commencement of a political dialogue with China makes the exhibition even more important and interesting.

Entitled *China and Europe – understanding and Chinese art in the 17th and 18th centuries* it tries to throw some light on relations with the Middle Kingdom and to show what effect these relationships had on art and thought in Europe.

Eleven art historians have prepared the exhibition which is of a most impressive size. Of the 860 items listed in the catalogue, 94 items come from the Charlottenburg Castle itself and 287 have and been loaned by the Prussian Cultural Foundation. The remainder of the exhibits have been loaned by museums, libraries and private collections in this country and abroad. To enable visitors to find their way trhough the 21 rooms where the exhibits are on show a suggested route has been provided.

If the visitor wants to be systematic he should first visit the upper storey where he will be introduced to a knowledge of China. There are ancient maps, first dictionaries, etchings, Marco Polo as the precursor of the Jesuits, whose work in China is described in detail, books on travel dating from the 17th century and finally the Chinese library collected by the Great Elector which includes 300 titles and is a must for sinologists.

One whole room is devoted to the philosopher Leibniz' speculations on the influence of Chinese philosophy on European thought.

How European art reacted to Chinese art is best seen in the historical rooms of the Castle. Exhibition items have been placed in rooms where they can be seen to best advantage.

This section of the exhibition begins with a look back at the rooms created in the Late Renaissance in which Chinese art was included as a curiosity. Then there comes the endeavours to include China, a country obviously with a great artistic tradition, into the general world view that was part of the Baroque period. This section is devoted to the many facets of East Asian art. The 18th century saw the development of what is known as *chinoiserie*, half playful, half caricature.

Decorations in the Chinese manner were applied to interiors, wall decorations, lacquered furniture, porcelain and paper and silk wallpaper. Some were of a high artistic quality, others were just trivial.

In addition there was a considerable Chinese influence on European gardens. The exotic charm of Chinese porcelain, furniture and wall coverings gave stately homes a novel splendour.

Several rooms are devoted to the influence of Chinese art on the theatre.

The high point of the exhibition is Friedrich I's porcelain collection. From the floor to the ceiling decorated with the Aurora paintings there is row upon row of Chinese vases, plates, pots. More than 3,000 pieces have been collected together in Charlottenburg Castle for the first time since World War II. Their appearance, enhanced by mirrors, is a fascination and considerable attraction to visitors. The details evade the eye or the eye finds it all too much to be taken in and seeks release by gazing into the park outside already betraying the onset of autumn.

The counterpart to the porcelain cabinet is the fantastic chinoiserie of the rococo in the White Room. Here, in delicate pastel shades, there are porcelain figures from Meissen, Nymphenburg and Frankenthal. There are Chinese boys and maidens, the emperor wearing a pigtail, servants, pagodas, a canopy, all bizarre and delectable. A glimpse of a serene, refined way of life, almost on the edge of the utterly unbearable.

A few steps further on the visitor comes upon paintings by Antoine Watteau, which included references to the fashion for chinoiserie. For Watteau China was a sort of arcady, a place of eternal good fortune. The painter produced a total illusion. Watteau, whose work was much prized in Europe, allowed reality to shimmer through his dream world.

Francois Boucher on the other hand kept things more on the surface. He made his chinoiserie seem like something witty and playful.

China in Europe – but the key to the exhibition is to be found in a small room given over to Europe in China. The number of items of Chinese art influenced by Europe is very few. Chinese art was traditional. She only opened herself to western influences for commercial motives.

The exhibition, seen in the light of the discussions that are going on between Europe and China is a very worthwhile venture.

Liselotte Müller

(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 24 September 1973)



A Brussels tapestry with Chinese motives in the design, exhibited at Charlottenburg Castle

(Photo: Heinrich von der Becke)

Definitive Wols exhibition mounted in Berlin

He was a *peintre maudit*, a sort of Modigliani, a Van Gogh, a Verlaine or a Rimbaud, whose mad career through life was not only an inspiration for much of their work but also a symbol to them of their own imperiled existence.

Wols, whose real name was Alfred Otto Wolfgang Schulze, was born in Berlin in 1913. He was the son of an offical at the Justice Ministry. At first he wanted to be a musician and so he moved to France in 1932. He belonged to that group of artists whose art was something more than just something artistic but also existential.

Wols did not paint for art dealers, nor for generations to come, nor for the public. When René Drouin arranged his first exhibition in 1945 he did his best to prevent the event. In 1947 he exhibited the forty paintings of his second exhibition to his dog and wrote out denigrating remarks which he said came from the dog.

Twenty-five of these forty paintings, which Wols painted in a fever of creation in the winter of 1946-1947 have been included in the Wols exhibition that Werner Haftmann has arranged for the new Nationalgalerie in West Berlin.

George Mathieu wrote of the works of this creative period in Wols' life: "Forty masterpieces! Each more shattering, more exciting, richer than the last – an event, without doubt, to compare with Van Gogh's most important creative period . . ."

Such rapture, such emphasis would no longer be awakened in a viewer today. The truth is that these pictures were particularly important for artistic development immediately after the Second World War. He contributed, together with Hans Haltung, Fautrier, Pollock, and others to the development of what came to be known as tachismus, informal art, lyrical abstractions or abstract expressionism.

Wols had nothing more in mind than to establish a new direction in art. He painted because he had to paint, because painting, after many ventures into other art forms offered him the most suitable means of communication.

The later view of a well-known art historian in this country maintains that it is necessary to divide occidental art to pre and post Wols. If he had heard this he would have laughed and taken a long draught from the bottle of present day art. Wols was totally devoid of ambition. He said: "The less one does the less one loses of oneself." And with these words he went ahead full pelt. "Recently stretching to the limit, puts one out further away from perfection."

The Berlin exhibition, which will eventually be staged in Paris, includes something like 170 paintings, water colours and drawings. It is the largest Wols exhibition to be mounted since the one in Frankfurt in 1965/1966. Since many false elements have been eliminated from the exhibition in Berlin it can be considered the most definitive.

If the question is asked what did Wols achieve that had lasting value, the answer would not be the oil paintings that over the past forty years have been created with such furore, but the small water colours and drawings. In these the artist shows something of his more intimate side. Wols wrote on a note: "To see means closing the eyes." And again: "Those who can dream while wide awake are aware of a thousand things more than those who only dream whilst they sleep."

Wols has given some idea what these "thousand things" are in his water colours and drawings, which owe their inspiration to Klee and are related to the frontier regions of minerals to plants, plants to animals and animals to men.

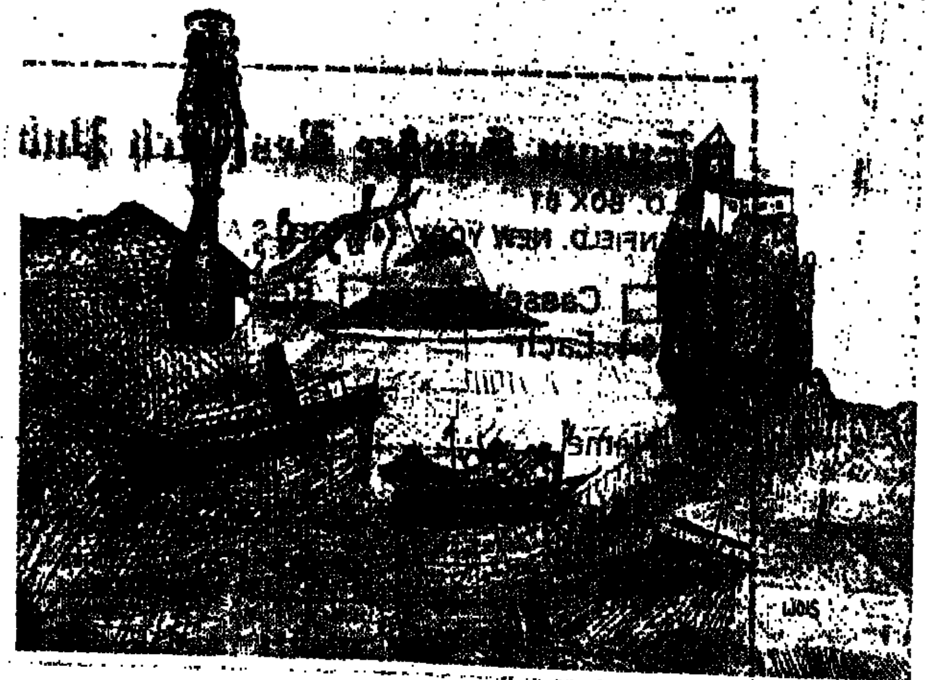
In his works there are finely spun webs of dream architecture that could be called "mountains of eroticism" and "phallic things".

When he died in Paris after eating tainted horseflesh, his body having been weakened by alcohol, few people were aware in fact that an important artist had passed away. (With the exception of Jean-Paul Sartre who during Wol's final years offered him financial support.)

Wols was not one of the great innovators, not a great revolutionary whose heroic efforts will be written into art history, but he was one of the finest original, phantastic draughtsmen to work in this century, and a co-founder of tachismus.

Hellmut Kotschenreuther

(Kieler Nachrichten, 15 September 1973)



Wols' *Der unbezwingbare Felsen* (Photo: Katalog)

OPERA

Boris Blacher's *Yvonne* premiered in Wuppertal

Witold Gombrowicz, the Polish dramatist who died in 1969, was a writer of haunting dreams in which phantom fights phantom and, as such, an early representative of the Absurd theatre.

His early plays *Yvonne* (1935) and *The Betrothal* (1946) anticipated a good deal of Ionesco's and Becket's drama many years before they started production, and appear to be meditaions on Shakespeare's *Hamlet*.

Composer Boris Blacher has also meditated about *Hamlet* and often returns to this subject in his music for stage and ballet. Attending Ernst Schröder's production of *Yvonne*, he suddenly realised that the play was a disguised form of *Hamlet*, converted it into a libretto and composed the music to it within eight months.

Yvonne is a macabre fairy-tale. As in *Hamlet*, there is a Prince, a King and Queen, thechamberlain, a court and the prince's close friend. But the play revolves around Yvonne, the silent title figure.

Yvonne is an ugly, quiet girl, the most unattractive person in the kingdom, who one day meets the prince while out walking. The prince is fascinated by her appalling ugliness and, completely enchanted, chooses her as his bride.

The court in its shock and confusion is at a loss what to do and considers the prince's choice as a grotesque game and passing whim. The king, queen, chamberlain and the other potentates at court attempt to assimilate Yvonne and force her into their scheme of things.

Yvonne's silence (she has a non-speaking role in Blacher's opera), and her monstrous though blameless ugliness become a dangerous challenge to them as she does not recognise this contrived order as part of the real world.

The court is revealed to be little more than a facade of splendour behind which lurks deceit and gloom, the king and his chamberlain are exposed as murderers, the queen as a pale reflection of her youth and Isa, a lady-in-waiting, as a woman with no more than cheap beauty.

The prince, whose relations to both Yvonne and the world around him have grown insecure as a result of his devotion, sees no other way out of the situation than to kill her.

Everyone agrees that the disturbed order can only be restored through the criminal method of eliminating the outsider who has brought disorder with her.

The well-prepared murder takes place according to all the ritual of court ceremony. Frightened by the looks of the other guests at a ceremonial dinner, Yvonne chokes to death on the bones of a fish.

Yvonne is a murderous play which inspires horror, a fictional tragedy offering opera a fruitful source of possibilities if only the music is skilfully distributed among the cast and given due justice.

Boris Blacher's version of *Yvonne* has breaks with the traditional literary opera and does little to quash the scepticism felt, certainly not without justification, for the genre.

It is more an illustration than an intensification of the subject matter, a scant commentary by conventional means of expression which raises the drama into another dimension.

The music does not encourage understanding of the play by providing new ideas about it. It does not try to characterise individuals (with the exception of the prince) or the dramatic situation.

The vocal score is a diatonic parlando, only the prince is allowed occasionally to aspire to a lyrical arioso. The rather scanty music does not try to penetrate the cruel, inhuman regions of Gombrowicz's play, let alone reproduce them.

Blacher's cool intellectualism never has the alienating distance of a composer like Stravinsky and his rhythmic variety never has the same atmospheric tension as found in Stravinsky's works. Atmosphere is hinted at by clusters covering almost the whole range of the orchestra at decisive passages in the text.

Kurt Horres, the man who produced the Wuppertal premiere, staged the opera as theatre within theatre, seen from backstage. The stage design by Hanna Jordan consisted of dusty old props, and faded splendour.

The characters acted with grotesque solemnity and hollow theatrical pathos. The court was characterised by a pink hue which made the paleness of Yvonne and the prince stand out.

The anonymous masses were masks making them look like life-size puppets in order to distinguish them from the ruling classes in much the same way as Yvonne and the prince were distinguished from the other characters.

It is an oppressive though gay drama with a surrealistic fairy-tale character. It is at the same time comic, grotesque and horrific.

Horres portrays brilliantly the decline and growing imbecility of the court, the dance of death between false complacency and the murder of Yvonne. His direction and his altemation between farce and tragedy are also excellent.

Pina Busch played Yvonne and managed to express her silent power in an excellent dramatic performance. Siegfried Schmidt was able to show off the quality of his fine tenor voice in the few arias allocated to the role of Prince Philipp.

In the other, less musically differentiated roles, Willi Nett as the king, Shari Boruvka as the queen, Herbert Grabe as the chamberlain and Ingeborg Krüger as the lady-in-waiting deserve praise for their clear diction.

János Kulka kept the right balance as conductor, always had the ensemble well in his control and faithfully reproduced the melodic line and decoration of the score.

The four-act opera was played without an interval. This strange opera evening was over after an hour an a half. But Wuppertal Opera House can be proud of its high standard and its services to contemporary music.

Imre Fabian

(Der Tagesspiegel, 22 September 1973)

A scene from the premier of Blacher's *Yvonne*

(Photo: Studio van Sandvoort)

Nikolas Nabokov's *Love's Labour's Lost* poorly received



A scene from the Berlin production of *Love's Labour's Lost*

(Photo: Ilse Buhs)

Why was Nicolas Nabokov's opera *Love's Labour's Lost* unable to achieve more than moderate success at its premiere in Brussels or its first German performance at the Deutsche Oper in West Berlin as part of the Berlin Festival?

Neither the music nor stage presentation was at fault. Reinhard Peters, an extemely competent conductor, was able to make the music comprehensible and synchronise the score with events on stage.

Winfried Bauernfeind's adequately humorous production – backed up by Filippo Sanjust's poetical stage design bordering on parody – only strayed from art to craft or degenerated into the droll where the libretto and the music intended it to.

The blame cannot be attached to the ten soloists, including Patricia Johnson as the princess, Gerti Zeuner as Katherine, William Murray as the king, Barry McDaniel as Berowne and David Knutson as Moth. Thanks to Sanjust's excellent wardrobe they were as good to see as to hear.

The libretto by W.H. Auden and Chester Kallmann obviously poses greater problems. The production in Berlin, before a noisier audience than in Brussels, was called into question from the very outset.

Writing in the programme, Nabokov quoted Auden's claim that *Love's Labour's Lost* is the only Shakespeare play possessing a structure suitable for opera.

However, this claim provokes the question of why the librettists did not accentuate this allegedly operatic structure more effectively and provide Nabokov with a real operatic text instead of the script for a musical comedy.

Moreover, it is a comedy that lives more from the word then the deed – which is never a successful basis for opera. Nabokov's music is music for the connoisseur from the cuckoo motif at the beginning, which gradually becomes the main motif and achieves an almost independent existence in the finale of the third scene, right up to the quotation from *Apollon Musagète* at the end. But it is difficult to describe it as the music of a genuine operatic composer.

Nabokov has admitted that the libretto is basically no more than an excuse to have fun with a style or stylistic prototype and to mock characters and situations with the help of persiflage as a comic method.

He takes comic pleasure in hinting at other musical works and quotes Renaissance madrigals, *Tristan*, Glinka, Mussorgsky, Weill and Eisler. But the pleasure felt at recognising old and not so old acquaintances does not persist throughout the opera. Today anyone quoting Beethoven's fate motif or Bizet's torero song runs the risk of his musical wit degenerating into a stale joke.

The main weakness of this music, rich in quotations as it is, grows apparent within the first hour: no composer contemporary or future will ever want to quote from it.

It blossoms up only to evaporate again like an intellectual conversation between extremely educated and extremely fine frequenters of an artistic salon of the thirties.

The audience reacted as it normally does in these parts – it gave due credit to the performers while booing the composer.

Hellmut Kotschenreuter

(Kieler Nachrichten, 22 September 1973)

■ MEDICINE

Dermatoglyph conference held in West Berlin

Frankfurter Rundschau

West Berlin was recently the venue for the Third International Dermatoglyph Conference. The specialists attending the event conduct research into the papillary lines of the skin.

The whorls, loops and arches on the skin of the fingers, palms and soles help distinguish one criminal from another as they never change during the course of a person's life.

The researchers hope to discover certain characteristic features in the dermatoglyphs which will indicate whether a person is suffering from a hereditary disease or has inherited a susceptibility to develop diabetes, complaints of the thyroid gland or possibly even cancer.

These scientists – mainly anthropologists, geneticists, gynaecologists and paediatricians – study hand and footprints in order to track down diseases in their early stages much as criminologists track down a criminal.

This method has obviously nothing to do with chiromancy, the supposed ability to read a person's character and destiny from the lines of his palm. But it is very reminiscent of the "optical diagnosis" which was sometimes practised in the past to achieve the same end.

Can papillary line diagnosis therefore be taken seriously as a method to track down diseases by looking at the hands and feet? The reputable Pschyrembel medical dictionary does not commit itself.

Professor Willibald Pschyrembel himself comments: "The whole subject is new and our specialists have not yet included it in the dictionary." He refused to dismiss this unusual method as a fad.

Professor Walter Hirsch of the Free University's Children's Hospital in West Berlin is the grand old man of international dermatoglyph research. He indicated that the eighty researchers from both East and West – and from Israel and the Arab States – who attended the conference in the Free University's department of anatomy have developed a topological and mathematical system. We must wait and see what this method contributes to the subject, he stated though admitted he had his reservations about its success.

At any rate, the papillary line method is completely harmless, Hirsch stated, as taking a handprint involved no danger at all. Many hospitals already take hand and footprints in order to obtain an additional source of information.

The papillary lines were first studied to diagnose mongolism or phenylketonuria, a mental complaint resulting from enzyme deficiency. One of the main aims of the method now is to track down deformities. Its chief use is to discover whether a deformity is due to environmental or genetic causes.

At present a long, tedious and expensive chromosome test – a caryogram – has to be made to track down genetic factors. Papillary line diagnosis would make this method superfluous.

The child's papillary line indicate whether its mother had German measles in the early months of pregnancy. Leukaemia and many types of heart complaint can be diagnosed from the papillary lines, researchers insist.

Otto Tappen

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 25 September 1973)

Bolster for women pilots at Munich aerospace conference

Another solely male preserve is threatened by an invasion of women. Following statistics indicating that women are better drivers than men, medical researchers have now dismissed the out-of-date belief that women are out of place in an aircraft cockpit.

Many large airlines refuse to employ women as pilots. Professor Hans Guido Mutke, a Munich gynaecologist and aerospace scientist, told the International Congress for Aerospace Medicine held in his home town that from the medical point of view women were at least as suitable as men for the post of pilot.

The only women employed on flight crews are air hostesses – and they work hard for their money. They are expected to walk anything up to fourteen kilometres on a Transatlantic flight. Professor Mutke told the congress that the stewardesses were the only persons on board who did such hard manual work under such unfavourable conditions.

The men in the cockpit on the other hand sit back in their comfortable seats and do everything they can to keep women out of their exclusively male preserve. Their main argument is the question they ask their passengers (mostly males, incidentally): "Would you allow yourself to be flown by a woman?"

A large number of private pilots in the United States are women and there has been no rapid increase in flight casualty figures. But in America, as in Europe, women are having to fight for the right to be appointed pilot by the large airlines.

This attitude cannot be understood in a country like the Federal Republic, Professor Mutke stated. After all, Germany has long been able to point to the famous Hanna Reitsch as a good example of what women can do at the joystick.

Professor Lomov, the Russian psychologist, told the congress that airlines in the Soviet Union on the other hand employed women pilots.

Professor Mutke is convinced that women are capable of greater performance than men in the cockpit and in manned space flight. The only medical problem is the period of reduced performance during menstruation.

But this problem can be overcome by means of careful selection, aptitude tests and the three-month contraceptive jab. Moreover, women are more patient, more persistent, calmer and less prone to pain than men.

But women have little chance of becoming crew members of manned space stations. Though Professor Mutke claims they are more suitable than men, there will be no place available for a woman until the eighties at the earliest.

The Soviet Union sent a woman into space ten years ago – Vera Tereshkova. The experiment has not been repeated since and Russian scientists claim that there are no plans at present for sending another woman into space.

Reiner Korbmann

(Neue Hannoversche, 22 September 1973)

One patient in three suffers from a mental condition

One patient in three consulting a general practitioner suffers from mental or psychosomatic disorders and can therefore be classified as mentally sick. The medical journal *Diagnostik* published in Frankfurt, has drawn doctors' attention to this alarming fact.

The journal mentioned a medical survey conducted among seven thousand patients which revealed that family problems topped the list of factors prompting mental trouble. Twenty-eight per cent of cases could be attributed to this cause.

Financial trouble was the cause in twenty per cent of the cases, loneliness in fourteen per cent, ambition and the wish to be admired in eleven per cent and accomodation problems in six per cent of the cases.

It is assumed that only about one fifth of those persons suffering from psychogenic reactions, neuroses and psychosomatic diseases actually consult their doctor.

A representative survey in Hesse revealed that 44 per cent of the population who thought they were healthy suffered from headaches, insomnia or chronic fatigue. Sixteen per cent of them had consulted a doctor. The remainder either treated themselves or dispensed with treatment altogether.

Dr J.V. Troschke of Ulm University's department of medical sociology and social psychology comments: "Medicine is considered to be so oriented towards physical complaints that the mentally sick often do not consult a doctor or, if they do, come too late."

Dr Troschke claims that diseases cannot be treated and understood in isolation of the social conditions in which they are contracted. "The general practioner's field of activity has therefore changed," he concludes.

Doctors must take the patients' complaints and problems seriously and not be overhasty in seeking a diagnosis or trying to treat them along physical lines. Patients must be prevented from reducing their state of social conflict to a merely physical complaint.

Troschke writes that a frank discussion of the situation between doctor and patient can often help. Whatever the case, prescribing tablets cannot be regarded as adequate treatment of the mentally sick.

"General practitioners should go beyond the individual case and the individual course of treatment and contribute to the prevention of disease by paying more house-calls and cooperating more closely with colleagues, works doctors and the health authorities," Troschke writes. "General practitioners must break out of the isolation imposed upon them by their individual practice. There appears to be a special need for more intensive cooperation with hospitals, advice centres, social workers, psychologists and psychotherapists."

(Stuttgarter Nachrichten, 21 September 1973)

More medical care for air passengers called for

Air hostesses regularly show passengers how to attach an oxygen mask to their face in the event of a sudden drop in pressure and how to inflate their life jackets if the plane is forced to make an emergency landing during an intercontinental flight.

"We are obliged to do so by international regulations," they explain as they conduct their demonstration with the grace of fashion models. Men passengers look on bored, some are amused and those on their first flight tend to get gooseflesh.

It would indeed be far more important to inform passengers how they could combat sickness and threats to their health – when all is said and done, this is a far more frequent occurrence on board planes.

"We consider it vital to draw up a plan for the adequate treatment of medical problems facing both crew and passengers during a flight," a team of Mexican doctors told the Congress for Aerospace Medinine in Munich.

Healthy passengers will not be affected by such factors as the slightly lower air pressure, the changes of barometric pressure, the emotional stress involved in travelling, sudden air turbulence, changes of climatic and time zones and arrival at high-altitude airports, the Mexican doctors stated – but the weak and sick will.

Complaints are often heard that the air inside an aeroplane is polluted as a result of cigarette smoke, deodorants and poor ventilation. The above-average concentration of carbon monoxyde and the effect of alcohol on the respiratory system could, together with the lower air pressure, exacerbate certain types of heart disease. Sometimes the sufferer does not even know he has a heart complaint until he flies. There should therefore be a general ban on smoking and drinking during a flight.

The most frequent complaint during a flight is a ringing in the ears. Sensitive persons who are not accustomed to flying react nervously to this, especially when they are additionally worried by the various engine noises that occur on take-off and landing.

But this "otalgia" can easily be prevented. The stewardess only has to tell the passengers to open their mouths wide and swallow. Babies should be given the bottle.

In view of the rapid expansion of air travel and the equally rapid increase in the types of complaint affecting modern man, the Mexican doctors recommend action that will lead to better medical care for passengers. The whole of the crew should be trained in first aid and one of the stewardesses on each flight must be a trained nurse.

Karl Stankiewitz

(Stuttgarter Nachrichten, 21 September 1973)

Industry spurns biologists

Some sixty per cent of all biology graduates become schoolteachers, between twenty and thirty per cent are employed by universities or institutes and only ten to twenty per cent find jobs in industry, administration or private institutes.

A survey conducted into the biologists' position on the labour market revealed that industry prefers biologists who have studied microbiology, biochemistry and pharmacology. A doctorate is essential for some forty per cent of the posts as research is usually involved.

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 21 September 1973)

■ EDUCATION

TV replaces book learning at Felsberg comprehensive

Audiovision is the new magic word of education. Instruction is conducted by means of television, pupils study the media, there is a monitor in every classroom and teachers only need to press a button to bring in the outside world in either black and white or colour.

Felsberg, near Melsungen in North Hesse, has one of the most modern schools in the Federal Republic and also possesses the largest audiovisual installation.

West Berlin for instance will not catch up with Felsberg until 1974 at the earliest. By then the first seven of the fifteen planned "intermediate stage centres" will have opened their doors. A model of one of these centres can currently be seen in the Berlin Pavillion in the Tiergarten area.

The school that is still growing. At present it has about one thousand pupils who are trained up to elementary or secondary modern school-leaving standard by a staff of 45.

At present there are fifty classrooms at the school, containing a total of 38 black and white and nine colour televisions. Five different programmes, transmitted by three videotapes, the school's own television camera or an outside station, can be received in all classrooms at any one time.

The school is not bound to what the television companies transmit by way of educational broadcasting. When the need arises, teachers and pupils can make their own films.

Headmaster Johannes Kobs is convinced that schools today must teach pupils how to absorb information much as they used to teach pupils how to read and write. "To see things how they really are is to see them critically," he explains. "Seeing things critically must be learned. Only conscious television viewing will prevent a mere fascination with the pictures shown and a subsequent atrophy of the intellect."

Kobs' words are fine-sounding, if a little too theoretical. But he means what he says: "Our pupils must be creative when confronted by technology. We want to free them from the authority imposed by science."

Kobs explains the educational theory lying at the basis of tuition at Felsberg: "Traditional book learning does not take the pupils' actual situation into account. Pupils no longer read after leaving the classroom."

Teachers at Felsberg comprehensive have drawn the logical conclusion from this fact and their most important educational aid is television. They do all they can to explain the technical mysteries of this communications medium to their pupils and also utilise cameras and monitors to bring home a subject to their pupils.

For example, two hundred or so pupils sit in front of five monitors and watch a report on China by television commentator Peter Scholl-Latour. Working groups are then formed, each devoted to a specific aspect of the film.

Pupils in the work groups write reports on for instance the history, society culture, economy and political life of China and compile a televison programme of their own on the subject by piecing together excerpts of the original film.

When this has been completed, the work groups meet once again to discuss the outcome with the teachers. It is hoped that similar methods will prove successful in foreign language courses.

One of the most popular lessons at Felsberg takes as its subject children's television series such as *Daktari*, *Porky Pig* or *Lassie*. The teachers reveal the tricks behind various scenes of both the animal series and animated cartoons.

Kobs, evidently a specialist in this field, states: "I have nothing against *Lassie*. Emancipatory education does not mean shattering the child's intact world but helping it to understand its environment better."

Wolf Scheller

(Der Tagesspiegel, 23 September 1973)

Courses for career advisers

The Federal Labour Bureau plans to appoint 120 new career advisers from 1 October onwards in order to improve the service it provides for both adults and schoolchildren.

Future career advisers receive three years of training. The Federal Labour Bureau and Mannheim University have cooperated in drawing up a course of study that covers important aspects of psychology, education, sociology, law and economics.

Seminars are also held and candidates are required to undergo practical periods of study. The costs are met by the Federal Labour Bureau. The first group of 35 have been attending courses since last autumn.

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, 21 September 1973)

Problem of failure at school underestimated

Dr Akinlaja of the Institute for Youth Psychiatry, stated at the Paediatric Association Congress in Nuremberg that one of the most serious problems faced by children in their first few years at school is failure.

At present one third of all children do not reach the required standard by the time they leave elementary school. Though the figure before the First World War was as high as sixty per cent, Dr Akinlaja stated, the current failure rate represents a deterioration of the situation as conditions have changed.

Children have fewer opportunities in the technological world to show their worth. In the past a bad pupil could easily turn out to be the best worker on his father's farm. Now however schools are one of the only places where a child can demonstrate his ability. School failure today is therefore a greater threat to personality and a feeling of security.

The constant flow of new guidelines, curricula and teaching methods place excessive demands on teachers, parents and above all children, Dr Akinlaja commented. The persons most involved had no weapons with which to combat this dilemma.

In the current atmosphere of reform little attention is paid to the fact that children are biological entities whose abilities are biologically restricted or even inhibited.

Seventeen per cent of all children beginning school have slight infantile brain damage, twenty per cent will turn out to be dyslexic and one third are only of moderate ability. These children can only be helped if their deficiencies are recognised at an early stage, Dr Akinlaja stated.

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 20 September 1973)

■ OUR WORLD

Interior Minister Genscher introduces anti-terrorist unit

It is pitch dark at the Federal Border Guard's (BGS) training ground at Hangelar, near Bonn. The situation is exactly the same as on 5 September last year when the last act of the Arab terrorist drama involving the Israeli Olympic team unfolded. But now things are very different in the Federal Republic for all terrorists who wish to put into operation their horrendous activities. Unseen by their opponents the officers in the new "Anti-Terrorist Police" (GSG 9) have taken up their positions.

First Lt Ulrich Wegener can see the whole scene quite clearly using infra-red equipment. On his screen he can pick out every move. Next to First Lt Wegener there is a police officer, a member of the new anti-terrorist police, armed with a rifle with infra-red sights. First Lt Wegener said: "With such equipment he can see the whites of his opponent's eyes at 200 metres."

The performance by the police officers had a purpose behind it. It was a demonstration of the results of a year's training and instruction given to the special unit that is to be available in this country to fight terrorism – the first of its kind in the world.

Hans-Dietrich Genscher, Interior Minister, said: "People need to know that this unit exists." The unit is designed to be a deterrent. The Minister pointed out that the unit had been trained to make a swift response and he said: "We hope that it will never be necessary to put the unit into action."

For those who were not deterred, however, the unit is a considerable threat to potential terrorists. The unit is up to all the tricks and has been equipped with the latest in technical developments at a cost of five million Marks.

At the Hangelar training ground the persistent topic of conversation is the

DER TAGESSPIEGEL

events in Munich last year during the Olympics.

The unit, 115 strong made up of 25 officers, 78 non-commissioned officers and 12 men (the unit is later to be strengthened with a further 55 personnel), has been issued with special helmets that have a chin protection. One said: "If Police Officer Fliegerbauer had had a similar helmut in Munich last year he would be alive today."

Members showed what they had learned during 140 training hours in self-defence when unarmed. They have been trained by a karate expert. An attacker held one unit member up with a pistol at his neck. With two lightening-quick karate moves the pistol and attacker were lying stretched out in the sand. And even when held up with an attacker who has a machine gun pointing ready to fire there is a chance of disarming him. One of the unit members said: "It is only a question of knowing just what to do."

Unit members are on average 24 years of age and unmarried. Interior Minister Genscher said: "Last year in Munich there was one entrance to the building in Conally Street that was guarded by only one terrorist, who had no means of communicating with the others. If he could have been silently eliminated, then there would have been a chance of saving the situation."

Munich has also served as a guide for airborne training which the unit, known



Interior Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher inspecting a precision rifle and a rifle fitted with infra-red equipment, weapons that have been issued to the new anti-terrorist unit (Photo: dpa)

has GSG 9, has practised in strong wind. The helicopter hovered over a copse on the training ground. Eight sandbags attached to eight ropes fell to the earth. Then eight men followed. Within eighteen seconds the eight men armed with machine guns were in an attacking position. A special nylon rope was developed for this operation because ordinary rope would fray. First Lt Wegener said: "If we cannot make an entry by normal methods we come by air. We can get our men into position over the top of town centres and round skyscrapers."

As soon as the news of the bank raid in Stockholm was received, when hostages were taken, the GSG 9 team procured special boring equipment. This is just one example when acts of terrorism have been evaluated and a response devised.

A further example is the case last December after two bank raiders who took as hostage the head of Cologne's crime squad Hamacher and a police official. The raiders fled from Cologne to the Saar. This showed clearly that GSG 9 could not be equipped with Volkswagens when gangsters have high-speed getaway cars.

Eleven Mercedes 280SE fitted with radio and car telephone have been ordered for the unit.

One unit of 32 men has been equipped with a truck that has high-powered search light equipment with its own generator, an ambulance manned by a doctor and two nursing orderlies, an armoured car, a Volkswagen stationwagon and a Volkswagen bus to transport various pieces of equipment. This equipment includes two-way portable radio sets, telex, walkie-talkie radio equipment, video and cassette tape-recorders (to confirm orders), special maps, gasmasks, binoculars, bullet-proof vests, asbestos suits, nailed-planks to block roads and protective equipment made from steel and lead for use when bombs are exploded.

Arms of all kinds are supplied to the GSG 9 unit including revolvers, pistols, machine guns equipped with silencers, and every member of the unit has his own rifle capable of precision firing. First Lt Wegener said: "We have had considerable success at distances such as 600 metres."

If an opponent has equipment capable of pin-pointing infra-red ray devices the team have forty units of counter equipment which cost 40,000 Marks each.

Even the uniform has been designed to provide as few advantages as possible for an attacker. The dark green jackets have no small pockets that an opponent could catch hold of. Neither on the jacket nor on the beret are any insignia of rank worn. A spokesman said: "In this way an opponent cannot single out the leader of a unit and kill him, leaving the unit leaderless." The only insignia worn is "GSG 9" on an armband.

Interior Minister Genscher explained: "The unit is available for any of the Federal states in time of need. The states would then have command over the unit when operating in the state."

The unit has a list of priorities that have to be followed. First the unit is responsible for getting out of harms way any hostages taken. Secondly ensuring their own safety. Thirdly making sure that no third parties come into any danger. Opponents must not be harmed further than the circumstances demand. It is not the responsibility of members of GSG 9 to kill their opponents.

The unit has a tough training programme including 146 hours law studies, 50 hours studying criminology, 190 hours at police school, 210 hours on the range for firing practice, courses in driving at high speed and a five-day seminar lead by a team of psychologists.

The unit has at its disposal psychologists when needed and interpreters from the language service of the Bonn Foreign Office. The unit is manned with specialists such as divers, high frequency technicians and medical orderlies.

The unit is capable of being ready for operations within fifteen minutes. Within a further 45 minutes the unit is capable of reaching by helicopter any corner of the Federal Republic. If is proposed to set up ancillary units in the north and south of the country so that travelling time can be reduced to a minimum.

Interior Minister Genscher has officially informed officials in all the Federal states that GSG 9 is standing by for action in time of need. The unit would in the first instance be placed under the command of the police in the Federal state concerned who are not fully informed of what GSG 9 is capable of. By the same token GSG 9 members are not fully cognizant of police methods, so that lack of coordination is likely.

Interior Minister Genscher said: "I would welcome visits from state officials so that they can get to know more of our methods of operation."

Several states have already formed special units, the oldest being the unit set up in Stuttgart and Karlsruhe. These units have already taken part in more than 200 operations against blackmailers, drug peddlers and arms dealers.

In Düsseldorf Willi Weyer has set up an *Observationsgruppe*. And a further three anti-terrorist groups each comprising of 32 men have been formed.

A special committee of the Interior Ministry in Bonn is currently studying plans for unification of all these various units. It is possible that in each Federal state a sort of mini-GSG 9 unit will be formed to fight crime. Then the Bonn unit could operate in Federal states that have no special units of their own.

Horst Zimmermann

(Der Tagesspiegel, 25 September 1973)

Conscripts are not licentious soldiery of tradition

An old supposition is no longer valid. Bundeswehr soldiers do not go more frequently to pubs that do ordinary citizens in this country, according to a study commissioned by the Defence Ministry in Bonn dealing with how conscripts made use of their leisure time. The report commented that soldiers use their leisure time "in no way typical of a military life".

A group of research workers in Cologne have knocked a few assumptions on the head. Soldiers, and these days that means in the main conscripts, regard barracks as the place to amuse themselves. Most conscripts spend most of the time within the barrack confines and not in the canteen drinking beer but in their barrack rooms.

The survey points out that soldiers when they get back after a hectic weekend leave need to recuperate, which they do in barracks. Furthermore 17 per cent of soldiers are on duty later than five o'clock, later than they were used to when in civilian life.

The survey, which involved 1,874 soldiers from 22 different units in 19 different areas showed that conscripts discontinued pursuing those activities that were pursued in civilian life and could be termed "for amusement". This included visits to the cinema, pubs and dance halls.

Soldiers, the survey showed, spent less time on hobbies and activities involving various associations than they did when in civilian life. Seventy-four per cent of servicemen said that they had far less leisure time than they did when in civilian life.

Soldiers questioned put sport and then sexual activities at the top of their list of leisure time activities. Then came television and reading penny dreadfuls.

Only seven per cent of those in barracks and six per cent of those living outside barracks engaged in sport. Most of those who lived in barracks said that their best friends were other soldiers, those living off barracks said they were local civilians.

It was striking that conscripts' surroundings had little influence on how they used their leisure time. This was due, the survey claimed, mainly because so many soldiers are motorised.

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 5 September 1973)

■ FISHERIES

Hans Hass calls for ban on underwater hunting equipment

In the late thirties underwater hunting was an extremely fair sport. In 1937 there were only a few dozen of us hunting along the French Mediterranean coastline, our interest aroused by Guy Gilpatric of the United States.

Wearing waterproof goggles we dived down among the fish and killed them with lightning strokes of our ten-foot harpoons. In those days there were any number of fish in the coastal waters yet it often took us an hour or more to outwit one.

We had nothing but disdain for anglers, who lowered their hooks into the deep disguised by what for fish represented a tasty snack. We in contrast met the fish in their own element. They could see us and had every conceivable sporting chance on their side.

Like dolphins we continually had to surface for air, but we patiently stalked them, studying their behaviour and waiting for the moment to outwit them.

What began some thirty years ago with Hans Hass's first ventures into the underwater world armed with the simplest of skin-diving equipment, a camera and a harpoon, has blossomed into a worldwide mass movement. More and more people are scouring the seas with their automatic harpoons.

Later catapults and underwater guns were developed, enabling divers to shoot their prey at a distance of several yards. These mechanical aids made hunting a good deal easier.

Modern equipment is now used by more than two million skin-divers who move in on marine territory everywhere like swarms of grasshoppers, often equipped with an aqualung too. The rules of "fair play" are no longer observed. Many coastal waters have already been entirely depleted of fish.

In 1939 we had no automatic harpoons on our first expedition to tropical waters. Armed with manual harpoons and underwater cameras the three of us, all students, spent eight months exploring the coral reefs of the Caribbean.

"It is my honest conviction," I wrote in a manifesto published in 1971, "that drastic means are needed here. Conservations zones and underwater parks are important, but they are not enough. Issuing hunting permits is of little use, still less a licence to kill a specific number of certain species of fish. Who is going to check whether the provisions have been complied with?

"The only way to combat the problem is a root-and-branch solution: a world-wide ban on all mechanical underwater hunting equipment."

Any such ban would, of course, mean a substantial financial loss for the manufacturers and retailers of this kind of equipment, but would the loss be as bad as it is made out to be? Once fish stocks are exhausted diving will lose much of its attraction and, commercially speaking, less diving gear, fewer underwater cameras and less other equipment will be sold."

In autumn 1971, at the underwater film festival in Berlin, we founded the VBMU, an association committed to combat mechanical sub-aqua weapons. Our first move was to call on Jacques-Yves Cousteau of France to withdraw his support for the underwater hunting world championships.

Professor Cousteau was patron of the championships as president of CMAS, the world conferation of submarine activities. The championships used not to do any harm, but now they are a mistaken symbol. It is ridiculous to award a prize to the diver who kills most fish in the presribed time – at the Cuba world championships the winner polished off nearly 500 kg of fish! We never received an answer to our letter of complaint.

Professor Grzimek and the director of the World Wild Life Fund supported our campaign but he was as unsuccessful as we had been. Yet meanwhile a large number of prominent divers from Australia, the United States and other coutries backed up our demands.

Regulations have been laid down in a number of countries: the Bermudas, Bonaire, the Seychelles, Mexico, Sudan. In others hunting with an aqualung has at least been banned. But the world championships, in which harpoon manufacturers have a financial interest, continue.

A no less alarming trend is the way in which coastal areas are being laid waste by the collection of coral, sea snails and other flora and fauna. Once these trophies start to stink they are generally thrown away, and the areas where they are collected are fast being stripped bare by souvenir hunters.

Regulations governing fast-growing marine tourism are urgently needed, since the situation will not improve as long as Man considers himself to be God's own gift to Nature. The submarine world is one of the wonders of the world and does not deserve to be destroyed; it ought to be preserved for the benefit fo posterity.

Yet another even more alarming development induced me to issue a second manifesto on 13 April last. My latest protest was directed against the training of marine mammals by the navies of the great powers.

In part the tasks dolphins, sea-lions, whales and the like are trained to perform are harmless enough: locating lost torpedos, carrying messages. Other tasks are more mercenary, however: attaching limpet mines to enemy ships, attaching and killing enemy divers and performing espionage duties.

"It is fairly clear," I wrote, "where this development must necessarily lead. In the event of war or political crises these marine mammals will be slaughtered indiscriminatiely. Since they do not wear uniform there is no way of telling whether creatures that surface in the vicinity of vessels or bases are harmless or trained, and as marine mammals have to surface at regular intervals to breathe it is easy enough to shoot them."

The great powers really ought to stop training dolphins, sea-lions and the like to perform military duties. It is a disgraceful state of affairs to lovingly protect and study the habits of animals in order, to all intents and purposes, to condemn them to extinction.

Something must at long last be done to protect sea creatures, but who is to grasp the initiative? The politicians? We have already reached the stage at which men must protect Nature from the depredations of Mankind.

As far as the sea is concerned we still have the opportunity of learning the lessons that have become so apparent in the course of the exploration and exploitation of the land. Above all, we must cast off a little of our arrogance and tyranny.

Hans Hass

(Die Zeit, 28 September 1973)

